Flickering *of the* Flame

Print and the Reformation

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Hier stehe ich. Ich
Gott helfe mir!
kann nicht anders
Amen!

Flickering *of the* Flame

Print and the Reformation

Exhibition and catalogue by Pearce J. Carefoote

THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY
25 September – 20 December 2017

Catalogue and exhibition by Pearce J. Carefoote

Editors Philip Oldfield & Marie Korey

Exhibition designed and installed by Linda Joy

Digital Photography by Paul Armstrong

Catalogue designed by Stan Bevington

Catalogue printed by Coach House Press

LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA CATALOGUING IN PUBLICATION

Carefoote, Pearce J., 1961-, author, organizer
Flickering of the flame : print and the Reformation
/ exhibition and catalogue by Pearce J. Carefoote.

Catalogue of an exhibition held at the
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
from September 25 to December 20, 2017.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-0-7727-6122-4 (softcover)

1. Printing—Europe—Influence—History—Exhibitions.
2. Books—Europe—History—Exhibitions.
3. Manuscripts—Europe—History—Exhibitions.
4. Reformation—Exhibitions.
5. Europe—Civilization—Exhibitions.

I. Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
issuing body, host institution
II. Title.

Z124.C37 2017 686.2'09409024 C2017-902922-3

Foreword

The year 2017 marks the five hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, launched when Martin Luther penned and posted his Ninety-Five Theses to a church door in Wittenberg – or so the story goes. Unbeknownst to Luther, this act would alter Western society and culture forever. It spread a revolution of profound religious, cultural, and political changes. The Reformation is deemed one of the catalysts of the Enlightenment, democracy, and civil society. Further, its educational ideal had an enduring impact on society, scholarship and art. Five hundred years later, its effects remain tangible today.

To mark this historic anniversary, Pearce Carefoote's exhibition, *Flickering of the Flame: Print and the Reformation* explores the evolution of this movement and its propagation in text and the arts. Using the Fisher Rare Book Library's outstanding collection of early theological and religious works, Pearce focuses on the years between 1517 and 1648. The resulting exhibition and accompanying catalogue demonstrate how Protestant and Catholic reformers alike used textual and visual support to promote their views and to engage a mass audience. As he demonstrates, the history of the Reformation and print is complex and nuanced. Such analysis considerably broadens our understanding of the Reformation and the myths surrounding it.

Support for the printing of this catalogue has been generously given by Janet Dewan and Barbara Tangney in memory of their father, Harry F.M. Ade, a Lutheran by birth and a long-time Friend of the Fisher Library. We are also grateful to Dr Eric Robertson, Knox College, and the librarians from the Faculty of Music for lending us their materials for display. Above all, I wish to thank Pearce Carefoote for this remarkable exhibition and catalogue. This is Pearce's second exhibition in 2017. He also curated the successful *Struggle and the Story: Canada in Print* to mark Canada's 150 anniversary. He has certainly made 2017 a noteworthy year of anniversaries, celebration, and reflection here at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. For this, we are most thankful.

Loryl MacDonald
Interim Director, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

'No printing press, no Reformation.' This axiom has been repeated so often and for so long, that it is simply taken for granted by students, specialists, and even the broader public. An exhibition like *Flickering of the Flame: Print and the Reformation* allows us to take a fresh look at what all those printing presses produced, and Pearce Carefoote's superb catalogue gives us the materials to reconsider the old mantra. As we look through the display cases and catalogue, we can indulge in a little counter-intuitive speculation: did the printing press generate the Reformation, or did the Reformation generate the printing press?

'No Reformation, no printing press?' This was certainly the case in Wittenberg, where five publishers opened and then closed their doors from 1502–1516. Everything changed once Luther began doing his own work on a door (perhaps only apocryphally) in 1517. From that year till the end of the sixteenth century, Wittenberg published the most books of any city in the German-speaking lands. Across the North Sea, Scotland's first two printers launched their presses in 1507–1508 and then went out of business soon afterwards. Printers and presses found a public and profitability only after the Scottish Parliament adopted a Protestant confession in 1570. Over the next seventy years, almost forty per cent of the books produced on those presses dealt with religious themes. Geneva and Strasbourg barely had a press before Reformation politics turned them into publishing centres, and Basel printers expanded in numbers and production as they expanded their titles beyond scholarly texts and into religious controversies. While Protestants are often seen as the ones who exploited and benefited the most from the printing press, it was the Catholic stronghold of Cologne that had Europe's largest concentration of printers.

German publishers of a Protestant bent had Luther to thank for their profits: the Saxon friar wrote well over half of all books published in German in the early 1520s. A few decades later, only the names had changed: from 1541 when he settled in Geneva until a year after his death in 1564, Calvin was the author who most completely dominated the European market: forty-two per cent of all pages published by a single author in these years originated from his very busy pen, and his nearest rivals were colleagues in the Reformed camp. By contrast, through those same decades the Bible in its German, French, English, Italian, and other translations consumed only fourteen per cent of the pages that passed through Europe's busy presses. The press also brought new readers to some old classics. Both the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend* of Jacobus

de Voragine and the fourteenth-century *Imitation of Christ* of Thomas à Kempis were sufficiently steady sellers to gain translation into different vernaculars, and the latter had an impact that transcended religious boundaries: eighteenth-century Methodism was descended in part from it, thanks to the impact that à Kempis's imitative piety had on reformer John Wesley when he was a child reading the four-hundred-year-old classic with his mother.

The printing press certainly gave some medieval authors an early modern readership. But it was early modern authors who gave the bulk of work to contemporary printers. John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* consumed a year and a half of its publisher's time before appearing in 1563 – it was the largest publishing project in Britain, and while it was expensive, it was also profitable. In the five centuries since its first appearance it has never been out of print. Most know it as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, and its title and longevity underscore another reason why the Reformation made the printing press. In the fraught religious politics of the sixteenth century, the best defence was offence. Lutheran presses had been on the offensive from the very beginning, producing woodcuts that rendered the most black and white elements of Luther's writings into memorable visual form. Luther could be pungent, but Lutheran images even more so: complex arguments against papal primacy had less impact than a woodcut image of German peasants with their pants down defecating into an overturned papal crown.

These edgy, profane, and sometimes almost pornographic images gradually gave way to a different kind of emotional titillation. The market for martyrs was strong. Even before Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Protestant and Catholic presses alike produced images depicting the pain, violence, and suffering endured by their co-religionists at the hands of a religious oppressor. Foxe's many woodcut illustrations of torture and burnings were available separately, almost like a self-contained graphic version of the full version's highlights. Catholic presses pumped out vernacular saint's lives and the English College in Rome published images of the gruesome martyrdoms frescoed around its interior. Some violence was tacit: English antiquarian William Dugdale teamed up with the Bohemian engraver Wenceslaus Hollar to produce visual catalogues of the monasteries and churches demolished or left to decay by a religious culture less awed by their architectural rendering of sacred space.

We recognize the profitability of these polemics, but the Reformation also made the printing press through poetry and psalms. Many reformers constructed the sacred with the fluid architecture of song, and printers found a dependably steady market for the psalters, hymnals, and missals that structured worship. Religion had been

the business of printers ever since Gutenberg printed indulgences – far more profitably than the Bibles that ruined him – and it remained so as Catholic and Protestant churches alike leaned more on printed manuals to re-organize worship, and printed ledgers to register births, marriages, and deaths.

'No Reformation, no printing press?' Europe's printers soon expanded far beyond religious polemics, and what they unleashed would turn around to change religion itself. A technology born in one cultural upheaval matures through many others, and print and the press would certainly have expanded regardless. We are living in a time when optimism about the democratizing effects of open access and social media is sobered by the spread of alternative facts, fake news, and the friendly fascism of the midnight tweet. There's a material truth to the claim that the Reformation made or was made by a communications technology, and there is a cultural truth in the many parallels to today's new media. They clarify and distort. They liberate and enclose. They communicate poetry and violence. These paradoxes give a teasing ambiguity to Luther's claim that 'Printing is the last flicker of the flame that glows before the end of this world.' The flame bears light and heat; it can purify and it can destroy. It can smolder for centuries, or race across the globe. The ambiguity lies in what those promoting a reform of religion are really seeking, and as we can see in this exhibition and catalogue, there is no single – or simple – answer to that.

Nicholas Terpstra
Chair of the Department of History
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FLICKERING OF THE FLAME: PRINT AND THE REFORMATION

'Printing is God's ultimate and greatest gift. Indeed through printing God wants the whole world, to the ends of the earth, to know the roots of true religion and wants to transmit it in every language. Printing is the last flicker of the flame that glows before the end of this world.'[1] Thus did Martin Luther, who is said to have hammered his Ninety-Five Theses to the door of the Wittenberg Castle church exactly five hundred years ago, describe the advent of the printing press in his famous 'Table Talks'. So close were he and the other reformers to the appearance of this new 'black art', as printing by moveable type came to be known, that the Reformation is even referred to in some circles as 'Gutenberg's child'.[2] That may be something of an overstatement. The rise of Humanism, the revival in preaching, the growth of popular devotions and personal pieties, greater social interaction, and the development of modern nation states each contributed to the movement that came to be known as 'the Reformation'. While the printing press cannot be solely credited with the revolution that occurred in Europe in the sixteenth century, it certainly facilitated it. The reality is that the thought of men like Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli, as well as Loyola, Allen, and Bellarmine, was transmitted in a way unimaginable only a century earlier during the manuscript era. Many of the reformers' ideas could already be found in the writings of the late medieval clerics John Wycliffe and Jan Hus and their followers, but the laborious process of manuscript duplication meant that fewer copies of their ideas actually circulated among those who could read, while the few copies that were made were more easily seized and destroyed by those in authority.

The printing press changed this situation, but it proved to be a double-edged sword. For the Roman Catholic Church it represented the tool *par excellence* by which its message could be effectively disseminated, but only if it could be properly controlled; and while most Protestants, like Luther and John Foxe, celebrated what the press could do for the cause of reform, others feared that some of the faithful might believe that the possession of the dead letter of Scripture on a printed page might be considered sufficient for salvation.[3] All apprehension notwithstanding, the overwhelming influence of the press could be resisted in the sixteenth century no more than the Internet could be in the twenty-first. In example after example, the first texts issued by the newly-established printing houses in the Germanic territories would be treatises either for or against the Reformation. Such was the case at Ingolstadt (1519), Stuttgart (1521), Regensburg (1522), and Jena (1523) to name but four of many. The Jesuits, who were initially hesitant about the virtue of the press, eventually came to harness its power for propaganda pur-

poses, as is particularly evident in the presses that they established at Seville, Valladolid, and Eu in Normandy.[4] Nevertheless, between the years 1520 and 1530 Protestant printing outstripped Catholic by a ratio of about five to one, with eighty-five per cent of Protestant imprints appearing in the vernacular – the exact same percentage as Latin publishing among Roman Catholics.[5]

It has been argued that literacy and the Reformation went hand in hand, though this was hardly the case in the autumn of 1517. In the early sixteenth century, literacy may have approached thirty per cent in urban areas, but was only about five per cent in rural.[6] Although the vast majority of the population could not yet read, the presses of Europe were churning out thousands of copies of sermons and pamphlets, Bibles, and commentaries that were finding their way into the hands of those who actually were literate. Whether the printed word was proclaimed from pulpits or shared in the taprooms of inns, the ideas of both the reformers and representatives of the old religion were now being more widely heard, if not yet universally read, while topical woodcut caricatures began to appear that were open to the interpretation of literate and illiterate alike. Luther's comment during his table talk, therefore, that printing was the last flickering of the flame before the end of this world was not apocalyptic; rather it was the prescient observation of a man who understood that the printed book would become one of the most important instruments lighting the way into the modern era.

Despite the fact that the year 2017 marks one particularly important event that had seismic consequences for the Western world, determining the period that this exhibition should cover was not a straightforward task. It could certainly be argued that the twelfth-century Waldensians, or the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century proto-Reformers, Wycliffe and Hus, should be considered as the point of departure. Given the philosophy that the church should be *semper reformanda*, it could also be argued that there should be no end point. Both of these opinions are reflected in the items selected; but for reasons of practicality, and in order to highlight the strength of the library's collections, the primary focus is on the works published between the years 1517 and 1648, when the Wars of Religion came to an end.

PART I: EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION

It is impossible to separate the literature of the Reformation from the Humanist movement that immediately preceded it. Beginning in fourteenth-century Italy, the representatives of this movement sought a return to the Classical foundations of European society by focusing on the great exemplars of Latin and Greek poetry,

grammar, rhetoric, philosophy, and history. It was also a distinctly Christian movement that called for a return to the sources of the faith that Scholasticism and the complicated ritualistic practices of the Middle Ages had at times obscured. A sense began to grow among the intelligentsia of Christendom that a return *ad fontes*, entailing the establishment of more reliable Biblical texts based on the original Greek and Hebrew texts, as well as a rediscovery of the Church Fathers, would lead to the moral conversion of Christendom and a revival in the true expression of religion. The return to the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew sources of European culture occurred at the same time that the use of the vernacular was beginning to rise. In 1517 there were thirteen pamphlets printed in German; by 1524 there were 299, representing a 2300% increase. In England, meanwhile, it is estimated that some fifty thousand Latin, English, and bilingual texts, designed to help the laity to pray, were in circulation in the first decade of the sixteenth century, contributing to an alteration in many aspects of traditional religion.[7] The field of debate was clearly expanding linguistically as well as in content, even though Latin would still be the preferred language of scholarly argument well into the seventeenth century. It would seem to be the case that the Reformers, with their penchant for the vernacular, were targeting the broad base of the population, while Catholic apologists, with their preference for Latin, were targeting the influential, especially teachers, clerics, and leaders of government.[8] The fact that on the eve of the Reformation many in the general population still preferred to receive their religious instruction through plays, stories drawn from the Bible, and the lives of the saints (like the 'Golden Legend'), or popular devotions may not be as far removed from achieving the goals of reformation as it may appear at first glance.[9] Sources such as these subsisted outside of the Church's official liturgy and often beyond the immediate control of its ministers. In addition, primers, Books of Hours, and devotional works increasingly appeared in the vernacular and contributed to the development of an individual sense of piety that could be exploited by the Reformers who sought to create a more personal and direct experience of the Divine.

1 Dutch Book of Hours. [Utrecht? ca. 1470].

To understand the Reformation it is first necessary to comprehend the evolution of the spirituality that came to be known as the *devotio moderna*, the great reforming movement that emerged in the Netherlands in the late Middle Ages. The *devotio* traces its origins to the ministry of a Dutch deacon, Geert Groote (1340–1384), who in 1374 founded the Meester-Geertshuis in Deventer as a religious house for 'poor and pious women.' The movement was dedicated to

a shared common life of spiritual reform and in time would influence three separate but related groups: the Sisters of the Common Life, the Brethren of the Common Life, and the Augustinian Canons Regular, of which the great humanist and proto-Reformer Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536) was a member. The intention of the *devotio* was the spiritual renewal of Christianity on the eve of the Reformation.[10]

One of the ways in which this renewal occurred was through the creation, dissemination, and use of vernacular prayer books, such as this Dutch example. Books of Hours were devotional manuals that imitated the eight canonical hours that included matins, lauds, vespers, and compline, as they were celebrated daily by the secular clergy and members of monastic communities throughout Christendom. They allowed the laity to participate in the Divine Office from their own homes, and began to appear as early as the thirteenth century. Groote's great contribution to this liturgical genre, as recorded by his biographer Thomas à Kempis (ca. 1380–1471), was to translate 'the Hours of the Blessed Virgin together with certain other Hours from Latin into the Germanic language so that simple and unlearned lay people might have them in their mother tongue for their use in praying on holy days, so that when the faithful read these or heard them read by other devout persons they might the more easily keep themselves from many vanities and idle conversations and progress in the love and praise of God aided by their sacred readings.'[11]

Although Groote was promoting the use of the vernacular in prayer and meditation at the same time John Wycliffe (1320–1384) was doing the same in England, Groote's disciples never experienced the level of resistance met by Wycliffe's followers, the Lollards. Dutch Books of Hours proved to be remarkably popular compared

with their vernacular counterparts in neighbouring jurisdictions. In fact, it is estimated that some ninety per cent of surviving Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands were actually written in Dutch, suggesting that the prayer of the Church was increasingly becoming accessible to those who had limited knowledge of Latin almost fifty years before the Reformation began in earnest in Germany.[12]

The Fisher manuscript follows the calendar of the Utrecht diocese and probably comes from the province of Limburg in East Flanders. Written in black and red ink in a hybrida script, it begins with the first chapter of the Gospel of St John, after which follow the seven penitential Psalms, a litany of the saints, some Collects, the so-called fifteen 'Os' of St Bridget of Sweden (1303–1373), the Seven Last Words of Christ, prayers to Jesus, prayers to the Virgin, concluding with prayers to St Anne, morning prayers, and a benediction. The inclusion St Bridget's 'Os' is significant since they are a series of spiritual ejaculations based on thirty years of the nun's visions, in which she is critical of a Church badly in need of reform.[13]

2 Ulrich von Richental (ca. 1365–1437?). *Concilium zu Constencz*. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1483.

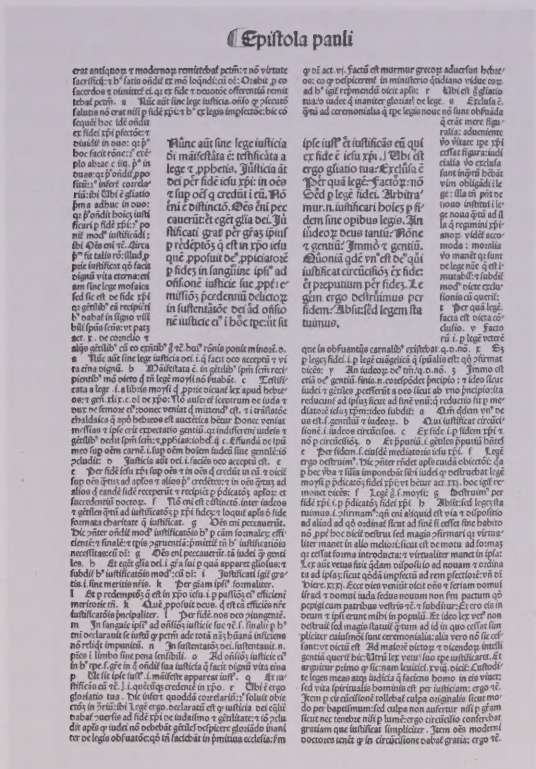
Between the years 1414 and 1418, a church council was held in the cathedral town of Constance (in what is today southwestern Germany), summoned to resolve the confusion of claims to the papal throne that had emerged in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. During the Council, the bishops voted according to national blocks rather than as individuals, perhaps the first sign of fissures in the

hegemony of Christendom that would ultimately lead to the rise of nationalism. The Council's importance, however, will be forever linked to the development of the controversial doctrine of 'conciliarism' as expressed in its decree *Haec sancta synodus* of 6 April 1415, by which the bishops asserted that the authority of a legitimately-assembled council was supreme in the governance of the church. 'Being lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit', they wrote, 'constituting a general council, and representing the Catholic Church militant, it has its power immediately from Christ, and that all persons of whatever rank or dignity, even a Pope, are bound to obey it in matters relating to faith and the end of the schism and the general reformation of the said Church of God in head and members.'[14] The decree was never approved by the reigning Pope Gregory XII (ca. 1326–1417) or his successors, and so is not held to be an authentic magisterial teaching of the Catholic Church.

Ulrich von Richental, who was probably a public notary in Constance, wrote this three-year chronicle of the Council sometime after 1420.[15] The first section provides an overview of the central events of the proceedings, including an eyewitness account of the execution of the great Bohemian proto-Reformer Jan Hus (1369–1415). Hus had been convicted of propagating the 'heresies' of John Wycliffe (who was also condemned by the Council *post mortem* on 4 May 1415), among which was urging the participation of the faithful in Holy Communion under the species of both bread and wine, contrary to contemporary practice. During the period that von Richental records, he estimated that there were some 72,460 visitors to the town, including one king, two queens, five princesses, 285 bishops and archbishops with 11,600 supporters, 171 physicians, and seventeen hundred entertainers.[16] The chronicle survives in some sixteen manuscripts from the end of the fifteenth century, and the first printed edition of 1483 is remarkable for its dramatic woodcuts with realistic depictions of the participants, as well as about a thousand coats of arms that, in the Fisher copy, are beautifully hand-coloured. In 1475, the printer, Anton Sorg, began operations at Augsburg, a town that became famous for its production of block books, playing cards, and devotional woodcut images of the saints, thanks in no small measure to his talents.[17]

3 *Biblia latina, cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra et expositionibus Guillelmi Britonis in omnes prologos S. Hieronymi et additionibus Pauli Burgensis replicisque Matthiae Doering.* Venice: Nicolas Jenson, 1481.

The most striking characteristic of many incunable Bibles like this one is their complicated page layout. They have been described as a *tour de force* of the printer's art with the Biblical text in large print


Epistola pauli

surrounded by a gloss, beneath which are the *postilla* or 'notes' of Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1349), followed by the objections of Paul of Burgos (d. 1435), a converted rabbi who took exception to Nicholas's emphasis on Hebrew interpretations. Beneath these are the criticisms of Matthias Döring (d. 1469) made in Nicholas's defence.[18] Nicholas was one of the few Hebraists produced in the later Middle Ages, and in his day he was criticized for 'Judaizing' the Scriptures.[19] His *postilla* show a thorough understanding of the Hebrew exegetes, especially Rashi (1040–1105), and it was through Nicholas that the Jewish interpretations of the Old Testament were introduced to Christian theologians.[20] Martin Luther (1483–1546) was especially influenced by his commentary, prompting the coining of the Latin adage, '*Si Lyra non lyrasset, Luther non saltasset*' meaning, 'Had Lyra not played, Luther could not have danced.' This Venetian imprint represents the first time that the *Biblia latina* was printed in combination with Nicholas's extensive reflections.[21] While the Reformers were indebted to Nicholas's insights, they eventually rejected the addition of commentary to the Biblical text in favour of a page relatively unencumbered by marginalia, so that the Word might speak for itself.

The French printer, Nicolas Jenson (1404–1480), was well-

known in his day for the printing of the works of both Classical and Humanist authors. He expanded his business during the 1470s by publishing substantial legal, medical, and theological texts, printing in a fine roman type that he designed. He nevertheless essentially abandoned roman typography later in his career in favour of a return to the gothic (as evidenced in this Bible), recognizing that 'typographical innovation had moved ahead of the market.'[22]

4 Dell'immitatione di Cristo. [Venice? ca. 1460–1480].

The *Imitation of Christ* was second only to the Bible in popularity among the adherents of the *devotio moderna* and would become a core text for both Catholics and Protestants even after the Reformation. Its authorship has been a source of contention for centuries, and has been variously ascribed to St Augustine of Hippo (354-430), St Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), St Bonaventure (1221–1274), and Jean Gerson (1363–1429) among others.[23] Like many works emanating from the spirituality of the *devotio moderna* it is anonymous, in keeping with the belief that attaching one's name to a work offered for God's glory was an act of pride. There was also a firm belief that, since the literature of the movement had flowed from the members' shared experiences and would return to their use, it was in reality common property and should not be assigned to any one person.[24] Nevertheless, it is now generally agreed that the meditations are the work of Thomas à Kempis, who was educated by the

Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, and subsequently became a member of the Augustinian Canons. The earliest-known dated copy of the *Imitation* is from 1427 when Thomas would have been about forty-seven years old. The text survives in some eight or nine hundred manuscripts as well as in a hundred early printed editions.[25]

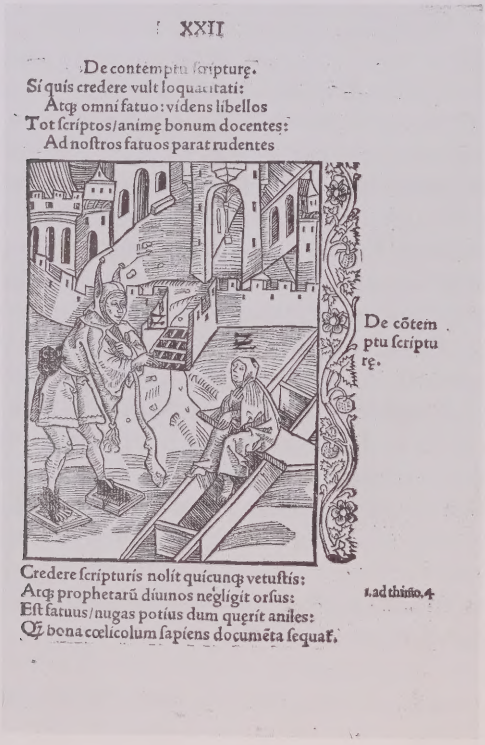
While its popularity among Catholics is understandable, the acclaim it enjoyed among Protestants may at first blush seem remarkable. Owing to the rootedness of the *devotio moderna* in the Scriptures, the Reformers saw in the *Imitation* a spiritual tool that married sound doctrine with personal renewal built upon a solid biblical foundation. As a result, Caspar Schwenckfeld (1490–1561), the Silesian Reformer, produced the first Protestant translation in 1531,[26] while modified English editions, undertaken by the Puritan Edward Hake (fl.1564–1604) and Anglican priest Thomas Rogers (ca. 1553–1616), demonstrate the broad popularity of the book well into the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. As late as the eighteenth century, John Wesley (1703–1791), the founder of Methodism, credited the *Imitation* with helping him develop his own brand of spirituality. In 1725, after his mother Susannah and he had read the book, he wrote that 'the nature and extent of inward religion, the religion of the heart, now appeared to me in a stronger light than it ever had done before.'[27] The enduring strength and appeal of the *Imitation* appears to be its ability to build bridges, both across the centuries, as well as across the splintered character of Christianity itself.[28]

The Fisher manuscript is a rare early Italian translation of this devotional classic. While it may be inappropriate to apply the term *devotio moderna* to the Humanist movement that was taking hold in some parts of Italy in the later Middle Ages, there was certainly common cause between those wishing to purify Christendom in both northern and southern Europe at that time. A parallel spirit of reform emerged in the Italian peninsula in the fifteenth century associated with such people as Antonio, Cardinal Correr (1369–1445) and Pope Eugene IV (1369–1447). The preface to this translation of the *Imitatio* attributes it to one of their sympathizers, Lorenzo Giustiniani (1381–1456), the Patriarch of Venice, who worked determinedly for the renewal of the church in his own diocese. The first printed Italian translation of the *Imitation* was produced at Venice in 1488, and twelve Italian editions would follow before 1530. None of these copies, however, credits the translation to Lorenzo, and none includes the text found in this manuscript.

5 Sebastian Brant (1458–1521). *Stultifera nauis.* Basel: Johann Bergmann, 1497.

The *Stultifera navis* (or *Ship of Fools*) of Sebastian Brant is one of the

literary heralds of the Reformation. It was first printed in German in 1495, its purpose being to enumerate the various follies, religious and intellectual, of late medieval society. Brant, who lived long enough to see Luther begin the Reformation, was probably unaware of the influence his writings would have in undercutting many of the assumptions and practices of Christendom as it had evolved by the end of the fifteenth century. As a Humanist, he was certainly not alone in his criticism, but his satirical presentation of some of the absurdities of medieval life and piety struck home among the most advanced and literate citizens then living in the Germanic territories.[29] The intention behind his book was not simply to be critical, however; his hope was that through the use of irony and parody he might administer a corrective that would first be understood by other Humanists, who would in turn proceed with the task of creating an enlightened society. In some ways he was a proto-Lutheran in belief. Brant, for example, firmly insisted that salvation came through faith, and not by reliance on good works, a philosophy that would become a central premise of the Reformation itself.[30] Because of their self-deception with regard to 'works', he believed that many Christians found themselves pursuing lesser goals rather than those truly desired by God. For that reason he is critical of those who fall easy prey to religious charlatans, visionaries, sophists, and those who display contempt for the Scriptures. Indeed, the margins of his book are littered with biblical references to support his positions.


XXII

De contemptu ſcripturę.

Si quis credere vult loquacitati:
Atq; omni fatuo: videns libellos
Tot ſcriptos/animę bonum docentes:
Ad noſtros fatuos parat rudentes

De cõtem ptu ſcriptu rę.

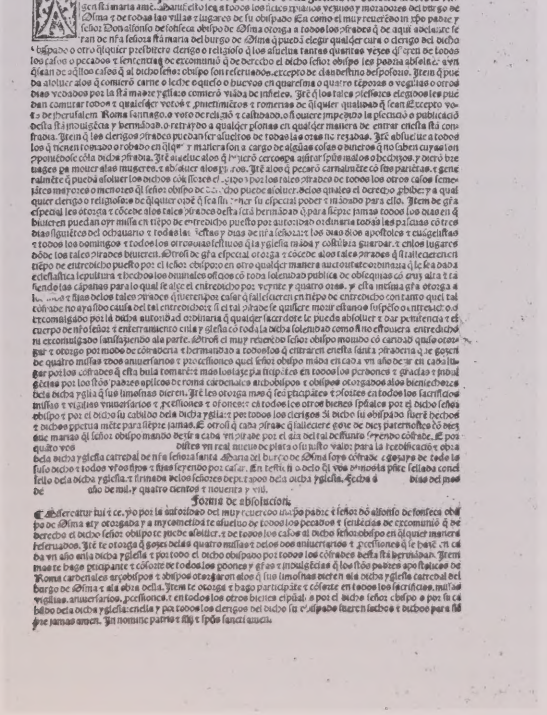
Credere ſcripturis nolit quicunq; vetuſtis:
Atq; prophetarũ diuinos negligit orſus:
Eſt fatuus/nugas potius dum querit aniles:
Q̃ bona cœlicolum ſapiens documẽta ſequat.

1. ad thim. 4

Nevertheless, Brant remained suspicious of radicals who insisted on putting the Scriptures into the hands of the common folk without proper direction, fearing that the Bible itself could become perverted as a result of misguided self-interpretation.

6 *Bula de indulgencias a favor de la catedral de Burgo de Osma.* [Pamplona: Arnao Guillén de Brocar, 1498].

The flashpoint for Luther's Reformation was the sale of indulgences by the Dominican Friar Johann Tetzel (1465–1519), with the proceeds going towards the building of the new St Peter's Basilica in Rome. In Roman Catholic tradition, indulgences were considered a means of reducing the length or amount of punishment one had to undergo for sins committed in this life. In the late Middle Ages this remission was expressed in terms of days and years cancelled from a soul's time in Purgatory, a doctrine not explicitly found in the Scriptures. Generally speaking, prayers and pious works were associated with obtaining an indulgence, though these could be replaced by a financial gift to the Church or one of its projects, such as the ongoing wars against the Turks, and other enterprises. The printing and selling of indulgences, therefore, became a profitable exercise for several interested parties, not the least of which were the printers themselves. Luther was more than aware of the spiritual dangers of



Gloria ⁊ alabança de dios todo poderoso ⁊ dela gloriosa su bendita madre la vir-
gen ſancta maria amen. Sabed todos los ſeñores ⁊ todos los ſeñores ⁊ mayordomos del burgo de
Osma ⁊ de todas las villas ⁊ lugares de ſu obiſpado q̃ la como el muy reuerendo en xpo padre y
ſeñor Don alfonſo de ſoſorca obiſpo de Osma otorga a todos los ſobredichos q̃ de aqui adelante ſe
an de nſa ſeñora ſancta maria del burgo de Osma q̃ puedā elegir qualeſquier curas o clerigos del dicho
obiſpado o otro qualquier prebitero clerigo o religioſo q̃ los aſsuelua tantas quantas veses q̃ crean de todos
los caſos o pecados ⁊ ſentencias q̃ de derecho el dicho ſeñor obiſpo les podria abſeluar: aun
q̃ ſean de aquellos caſos q̃ al dicho ſeñor obiſpo ſon reſeruados excepto de diandeſtino deſpoſorio. Item q̃ pue
da aſsoluer alos q̃ comieró carne o leche o queſo o huevos en quareſma o quatro teporas o vegilias o otros
dias vedados por la ſta madre yglia: e comieró viuda de inficio. Item q̃ los tales ſacerdotes elegidos les pue
dan conmutar todos ⁊ qualeſquier votos ⁊ juramentos ⁊ romerias de qualquier qualidad q̃ ſean excepto vo-
to de peregrinar a Roma ſantiago o viro de religiō ⁊ caſtidad. o ſi quiere impedido la predicacō o publicacō
della ſta bulla: cruzada y bermandad o en parte o a qualquier plonas en qualquier manera de entrar en eſta ſta cō-
fradia. Item q̃ los clerigos ſobredichos puedan leer aſsoluer de todas las cosas ſuſodichas. Item q̃ aſsoluer a todos
los q̃ tienen tomado o robado en qualquier manera ſon a cargo de algunas coſas o bienes q̃ no ſaben cuyas ſon
ponyendole cōla dicha ſobredicha. Item aſsoluer alos q̃ hyzieró cercoepa aſsiſtir ſpūs malos o dedicios. y otro ſi
tages pa mouer alas mugeres. ⁊ aſsoluer alos q̃ pecaró carnalmēte cō ſus parientas. ⁊ gente
ralmēte q̃ puedā aſsoluer los dichos cō ſiete ſacerdotes. Item por los tales ſobredichos de todos los otros caſos ſemē-
jantes mayores o menores q̃ el ſeñor obiſpo de Osma: o otro qualquier q̃ ſuo derecho puede aſsoluer. Item q̃ a qual
quier clerigo o religioſo: de qualquier orde q̃ ſea ſu mandar ſu eſpecial poder ⁊ mandado para ello. Item de gra
eſpecial les otorga ⁊ cōcede alos tales ſobredichos q̃ para ſiempre jamas todos los dichos q̃
huieren puedan oyr miſſa en tiepo de entredicho puesto por autoridad ordinaria todas las veses q̃ les pluguiere
dias ſiguientes del ochauario ⁊ todas las ſeſtas y dias de nſa ſeñora: los dias de apoſtoles ⁊ euāgeliſtas
⁊ todos los domingos ⁊ todos los otros dias feſtiuos q̃ la yglesia manda y coſtituya guardar: ⁊ en los lugares
dōde los tales ſobredichos huieren. aūque ſea q̃ ſea especial otorga ⁊ cōcede alos tales ſobredichos q̃ ſi falleciere en
tiepo de entredicho puesto por el ſeñor obiſpo o en otro qualquier manera ſucediere q̃ ellos o dōna
eclesiaſtica ſepultura ⁊ todos los ofiſios cō toda ſolenidad publica: de oficiadas cō cruz alta ⁊ ta
ſiendo las cāpanas para lo qual le alce el entredicho por veynte y quatro oras. y eſta merced q̃ ſea otorga a
los ſobredichos tales obiſpos ⁊ diuersos q̃ diuersos q̃ ſalieſſen en tiepo de entredicho con tanto q̃ el tal
cobrador no aya dado causa del tal entredicho: ⁊ el tal ſobredicho ſe quiſiere mostrar eſtando ſuſpeſo o entredicho o
excomulgado por la dicha autoridad ordinaria q̃ qualquier ſacerdote le pueda abſoluer ⁊ dar penitencia ⁊
cuerpo de nſo ſeñor ⁊ enterramiento en la yglesia cō toda la dicha ſolenidad como ſi no eſtouiera entredicho
ni excomulgado ſatisfaziendo alla parte. Item el muy reuerendo ſeñor obiſpo mandō cō carnosa q̃ alos otorg
gar ⁊ otorgo por modo de cōmuta ⁊ determinado a todos los q̃ entraren en eſta ſanta yglesia ⁊ de gozen
de quatro miſſas ſtos anuerſarios ⁊ poſſeſſiones q̃ el ſeñor obiſpo mādo en cada vn año de ſu en cada lu
gar por los cofrades q̃ eſta bula tomaren: mas los tales q̃ ſu principales en todos los perdones ⁊ gracias ⁊ priuil
gieles por los ſtos padres aplicos de roma cardenales arzobiſpos ⁊ obiſpos otorgados alos bienhechores
de la dicha yglia q̃ fue ymoſnas dieren. Item los otorga mas q̃ los ſus principales ⁊ poſſeſſes en todos los ſacrificios
miſſas ⁊ vigilias anuerſarios ⁊ poſſeſſiones ⁊ oforenda en todos los otros bienes ſpūales por el dicho ſeñor
obiſpo ⁊ por el dicho ſu cabildo della dicha yglia: por todos los clerigos ſi dicho ſu obiſpado fuere hechos
⁊ dichos ſpeciales mēte para ſiempre jamas. E otro ſi q̃ cada vno de los q̃ falleciere q̃ ſea de dios paternoſtre cō ſus
aue marias q̃ el ſeñor obiſpo mando decir a cada vn otro ſi q̃ el tal ſea del tal defunto ⁊ prendo cōfrade. E por
quanto vos [illegible] deſtos vn real menos de plata o ſu valor para la fortificacō ⁊ obra
dela dicha yglesia catredal de nſa ſeñora ſancta Maria del burgo de Osma fue cōfrade ⁊ cofrada de todo lo
ſuſo dicho ⁊ todos vros ſtos ⁊ fias ſeyendo por caſar. En teſtio q̃ o dicho ſu vos ymoſna pfice ſellada con el
ſello dela dicha yglesia. ⁊ firmados delos ſeñores dep. tados dela dicha yglesia. Fecha a [illegible] dias del mes
de [illegible] año de mil. y quatro cientos ⁊ nouenta y vno.

Forma de abſolucion.

Miſereatur tui ⁊ cē. yo por la autoridad del muy reuerendo dicho padre ⁊ ſeñor dō alfonſo de ſoneca obiſ
po de Osma a my otorgada y a my cometida te abſueluo de todos los pecados ⁊ ſentencias de excomunio q̃ de
derecho el dicho ſeñor obiſpo te puede abſoluer. ⁊ de todos los caſos q̃ el dicho ſeñor obiſpo en q̃ualquier manera
reſeruados. Item te otorga q̃ goses delas quatro miſſas ⁊ delos dos anuerſarios ⁊ poſſeſiones ⁊ q̃ le pase en ca
da vn año della dicha yglesia ⁊ por todo el dicho obiſpado por todos los cofrades della ſta hermandad. Item
mas te haga ptcipante ⁊ cofrade de todos los ppones y gras ⁊ inmunidades q̃ los ſtos padres apoſtolicos de
Roma cardenales arzobiſpos ⁊ obiſpos otorgaron alos q̃ fue ymoſnas dieren a la dicha yglesia catredal del
burgo de Osma ⁊ a la obra della. Item te otorga ⁊ hago ptcipante ⁊ cofrade en todos los ſacrificios miſſas
vigilias anuerſarios poſſeſiones ⁊ en todos los otros bienes eſpūales q̃ por el dicho ſeñor obiſpo ⁊ por ſu ca
bildo dela dicha yglesia: eſtan y por todos los clerigos del dicho ſu obiſpado fueren hechos ⁊ dichos para ſi
ſiempre jamas amen. In nomine patris ⁊ filij ⁊ ſpūs ſancti amen.

this trade, and in a letter to Christoph Scheurl dated 5 March 1518, he expressed his deep regret that the new printing technology had been coopted in this way.[31]

As is the case with this Bull of Indulgence offered by Bishop Alonso de Fonseca of Burgo de Osma, certificates were generally issued as printed blanks that would be completed with the penitent's name added in manuscript at the time of purchase. Fonseca's indulgences were all issued in the same manner: two certificates reproduced on a single folded sheet, with text appearing on the recto side only to allow for easier printing, division, and distribution. The Fisher copy still has both certificates intact, the blanks not having been completed, the leaf undivided. Bishop de Fonseca's indulgence was granted to members of the Confraternity of Santa Maria del Burgo who, for the contribution of one silver real towards the fabric of his cathedral, were granted the privilege of having certain sins, normally reserved to the bishop, absolved by a priest of their choosing. Those sins that he lists include the consumption of meat, milk, cheese, and eggs during Lent; participating in certain occult practices; the making of abortifacients; and the commission of certain sexual sins, including incest. The absolution is printed at the end of the certificate.[32] Similar indulgences were issued by the monastery of Montserrat, which commissioned some 200,000 certificates between 1498 and 1500, while in Sicily, the Bishop of Cefalu ordered 130,000 from a printer in Messina at about the same time. Of the two thousand fifteenth-century broadsides known to have survived, over a third of these were indulgence certificates, ninety per cent of which were printed in the Germanic territories.

Many of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses questioned this practice and both the theological and scriptural foundation for it, with his twenty-first thesis positing that 'those indulgence preachers are in error who say that a man is absolved from every penalty and saved by papal indulgences.' Indulgences, bought and sold to obtain a spiritual grace, were denounced by the Reformers as 'simony', which the Scholastic divines of the High Middle Ages had described as 'the most abominable of crimes.' Given their lucrative nature, however, it is no surprise that Luther's mission to eliminate indulgences from ecclesiastical practice was perceived in many quarters as an economic threat, including by some members of the printing industry.[33]

7 Jacobus de Voragine (ca. 1230–1298). *The Legende named in Latyn Legende aurea*. London: Wynkyn de Worde, 1507.

The *Legenda aurea* or 'Golden Legend' was one of the most popular texts produced during the Middle Ages. In it, the thirteenth-century Dominican friar Jacobus de Voragine charmingly retells the fantastic stories of the saints of the Christian era. The book was so over-

The translacyon of laynt Thomas of cauſterbury Folio. C. lxxiii.

kynge Odgare his body was tranſlated & put in to a ſhryne in the abbaye of wynche ſtre by laynt Dunſtone and Ethelwolde/ And that ſame yere was laynt Edwarde kynge and martyr ſhryned at ſhaftesbury Theſe two byſſhoppes Dunſtone & Ethelwolde were warned by our lorde to ſe that theſe two holy layntes Swythune & Edwarde ſholde be worſſhypfully ſhryned/ & ſoo they were within a ſhorte tyme after/ and an holy man warned Ethelwold why les he laye ſeke to helpe that theſe two holy bodyes myght be ſhryned. And thenne he ſholde be perfyrely hole and ſoo endure to his lyues ende/and the token is that ye ſhall fynde on laynte Swythunes graue two tynges of yren napled faſte there on/ and as ſoone as he ſette honde on the tynges they came of/of the ſtone and noo token was ſeen in the ſtone/where they were faſtened in. And whan they had taken vp the ſtone fro the graue/they let the tynges to the ſtone agayne/and anone they faſtened to it by themſelfe. And than this holy byſſhop gaue laude and prayſynge to our lorde for this myracle. And at the openynge of the graue of laynte Swythune ſuche a ſwete odour and ſauour yſſued out that kynge Odgare and all the multytude of people were fulfylled with heuenly ſwetenes/and a blynde man receyued there his ſyght agayne/and many men heled of dyuers ſekenes & maladyes by the merytes of this holy layne/layne Swythune. To whome let vs praye/that he be our aduocate to the good lorde for vs. Ac.

Here begynneth the tranſlacyon of laynt Thomas of Cauunterburye the glorious martyr.

THe tranſlacyon of the glorious martyr Saynt thomas of cauſterbury we ſhal ſhortly reherce vnto the laude & prayſynge of almyghty god. Thenne in the fyfty yere after his paſſion whi che was the yere of Jubylee/that is of remyſſyon. For of auncyent tyme the fyfty yere was called the yere of Jubylee of pardon & remyſſyon/and is yet vſed amonge relygyous men/For whan a relygyous man hath cōtynued in his ordre fyfty yere Than he ſhall be admytted to make hys Jubylee/and that made he is pardonned and hath remyſſyon of many obſeruaūces that before he was bounden vnto. Than in this yere of Jubylee from hys paſſyon was the ſolempnyte of his tranſlacyon accomplyſſhed in the tyme of Honorius the thyrde pope of that name. the whiche graūted yerely remyſſyons and indulgences ſo grete and large that tofore in noo tyme of mynde hathe ben ſeen ony popes to haue graunted and gyuen lyke. Than lette vs call to mynde that on a tewedday his tranſlacyon was accomplyſſhed on the tewedaye happed to hym many thynges. On a tewedaye he was borne/on a tewedaye he was cryſſed/on a tewedaye our lorde appered to hym at ponteney in fraunce ſayinge Thomas my chyrche ſhall be glorifyed in thy blode. On a tewedaye he returned fro his exyle. And on the tewedaye he ſuffred martyrdome. Than how his holy tranſlacyon was fulfylled. Now ye ſhall here the reuerēt fader in god Stephen archebyſſhop of cauunterbury. Richarde by-

whelmingly received by the medieval public that some eight hundred Latin manuscripts of it were identified in the twentieth century alone, not including vernacular renditions, of which there were at least two English versions: an anonymous translation from about the year 1438, and that of William Caxton (d. ca. 1491) who was unstinting in his praise of the book.[34] Writing in 1483 (the year in which he also first printed it) Caxton explained that 'I have submysed myself to translate into englysshe the legend of sayntes, which is callyd legenda aurea in latyn, that is to say the golden legend. For in lyke wyse as gold is most noble above al other metalles, in lyke wyse is thys legend holden moost noble above al other werkys.'[35] Caxton's own contribution to the *Legenda* was the introduction of English synopses of Bible stories as prefatory material, including full translations of the books of Tobit and Judith. Given that the translation of the biblical text into English was still illegal at the end of the fifteenth century, this was an audacious enterprise. Caxton's translation saw nine editions until the appearance of the final one printed by his disciple, Wynkyn de Worde (d. 1534), in 1527. On the Continent the Legend appeared in more than 150 editions in most modern European languages including Italian, French, Dutch, High and Low German, as well as Bohemian. By comparison, printed Bibles before 1501 appear in only 128 editions.

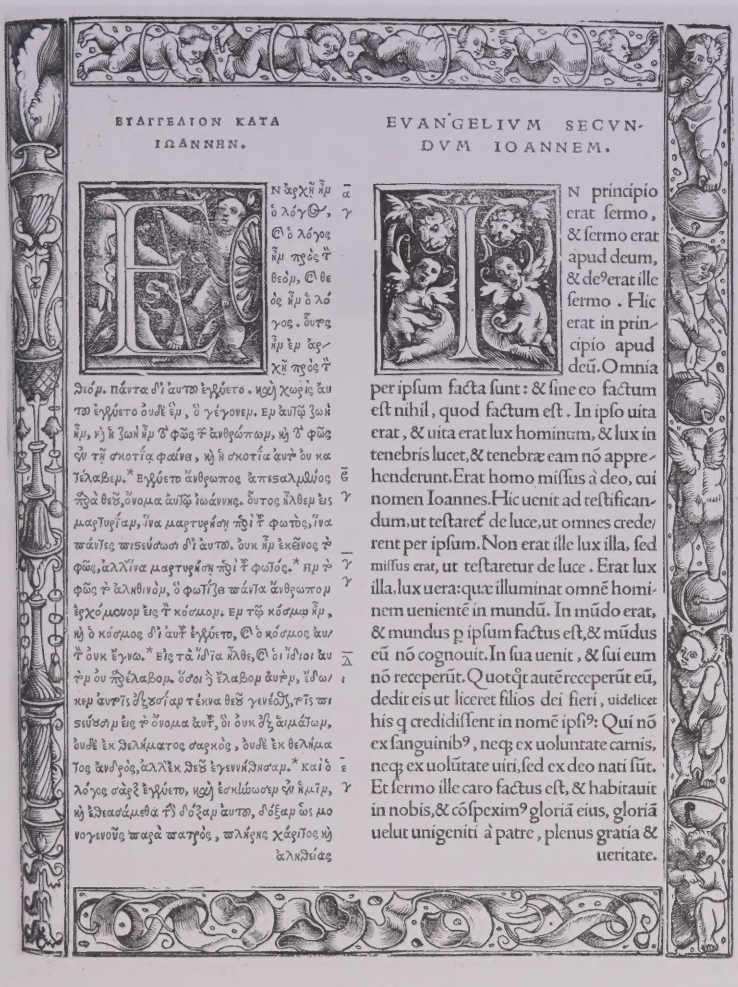
By the beginning of the sixteenth century, coinciding with the rise of Humanism and its campaign to 'return to the sources', the

Legend started to fall from favour. Criticism of the book initially came from orthodox Catholic scholars such as Georg Witzel (1501–1573), Claude d'Espence (1511–1571), Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), and Melchior Cano (1509–1560). Even the Dominicans were cautious about endorsing the book, referring to it as the *Legenda lombardica* rather than '*aurea*.'[36] The danger associated with disparaging these traditional tales, however, was more than just theological: there were economic consequences as well. Challenging the cult of local saints could have a deleterious effect on pilgrimages and the spiritual 'tourism' associated with them. As a result, many in the hierarchy felt it better to leave the stories alone rather than risk harming sensitive consciences or bank accounts. Nevertheless, as the printing press made access to the canonical Scriptures in the vernacular easier, interest in the Legend waned: the last Italian edition would appear in 1613, and only a single new edition was printed in the subsequent 230 years. It would not be until the nineteenth century, with the revival of medievalism in Europe, that interest was renewed in the book, typified by William Morris's exquisite reprinting of the Legend in 1892.

The Fisher 1507 copy was likely censored during the English Reformation of the sixteenth century. The image and story of St Thomas a Becket (1118–1170), Archbishop of Canterbury under King Henry II (1133–1189), and a figure loathed by his Tudor successor Henry VIII (1491–1547), have been obliterated using a large black 'X', which censored area was subsequently bleached again to reveal the text and picture beneath. The Fisher's 1527 edition of the same book has also been censored by a contemporary hand, with the word 'pope' replaced by 'bysshop', the name of Becket blackened out entirely, and instructions left to omit a prayer to the Virgin for the feast of her conception, commemorated on 8 December. Other marks scattered throughout suggest that this later copy may actually have been used by an editor for the preparation of a revised version of the Legend, intended to be more palatable to the members of the new English Church—an edition that did not actually materialize until the late Victorian era, as noted above.

8 *Novum Testamentum omne: multo quam antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterdamo recognitu.* Basel: Johann Froben, 1519.

For Humanists like Desiderius Erasmus, the return to the sources was linked to the search for truth and accuracy. When compared with the original Greek text, it became readily apparent, even to the Church hierarchy of the day, that the Vulgate of St Jerome, though excellent in many ways, also contained numerous inaccuracies. In 1511, therefore, Erasmus began the monumental task of retranslating



ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΙΩΑΝΝΗΝ.

EVANGELIVM SECVNDVM IOANNEM.

Ν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν. ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν. ἐγένετο ἄνθρωπος ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ ἰωάννης. οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσι δι' αὐτοῦ. οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός. ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω. εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθε, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον. ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, οἳ οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων, οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς, οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν. καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρὸς, πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας

Ι principio erat sermo, & sermo erat apud deum, & deꝰ erat ille sermo. Hic erat in principio apud deū. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: & sine eo factum est nihil, quod factum est. In ipso uita erat, & uita erat lux hominum, & lux in tenebris lucet, & tenebræ eam nō apprehenderunt. Erat homo missus à deo, cui nomen Ioannes. Hic uenit ad testificandum, ut testaretꝰ de luce, ut omnes crederent per ipsum. Non erat ille lux illa, sed missus erat, ut testaretur de luce. Erat lux illa, lux uera: quæ illuminat omnē hominem uenientē in mundū. In mūdo erat, & mundus p ipsum factus est, & mūdus eū nō cognouit. In suа uenit, & sui eum nō receperūt. Quotq̃t autē receperūt eū, dedit eis ut fiant filios dei fieri, uidelicet his q credidissent in nomē ipsi⁹: Qui nō ex sanguinib⁹, neq; ex uoluntate carnis, neq; ex uolūtate uiri, sed ex deo nati sūt. Et sermo ille caro factus est, & habitauit in nobis, & cōspexim⁹ gloriā eius, gloriā uelut unigeniti à patre, plenus gratia & ueritate.

the New Testament, and in 1516 his *Novum Instrumentum* first saw the light of day. It was not without its own errors, however, and so this 1519 edition represents the improved, corrected New Testament in Greek and Latin that Martin Luther would use as the basis for his great 1522 German New Testament.[37] Erasmus's edition is also noteworthy for the frequently controversial annotations he makes upon Biblical texts. He noted that mistranslations in the Vulgate had affected Catholic practice over the centuries, including the exhortation in Matthew 4:17, 'Μετανοεῖτε', which had been erroneously translated into Latin as '*poenitentiam agere*' or 'do penance', when in fact it simply meant 'repent.' This nuance in meaning would strengthen the position advanced by the Reformers that the performance of pious activities was unnecessary, and could never replace true conversion of the heart. Erasmus's quest for accuracy even led him to introduce paging in his New Testament. Previously,

the recto side of leaves may have been numbered, but with the addition of page numbers on both sides of the leaf, scholars and exegetes could allow for ever greater precision when doing textual comparison.[38]

PART II: LUTHER AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION

Martin Luther, a miner's son from what is now northern Germany, was a scholar at heart. After attending Latin grammar school as a child in Mansfeld, followed by boarding school in Eisenach, he eventually made his way to Erfurt where, some have argued, the seeds of the Reformation were sown. There, at the age of eighteen, he matriculated at the University for his liberal arts degree, his father's hopes pinned on his becoming a lawyer. Whether it was by some supernatural occurrence, or simply in defiance of his father's wishes, Luther instead entered the Augustinian monastery in that town, a choice that is telling in and of itself. Erfurt boasted several important religious houses at the beginning of the sixteenth century: Carthusians, Servites, Dominicans, and Franciscans all flourished in the town. Although through his mother's family, he was intimately familiar with the pious discipline of the Franciscans, the Augustinians at the time offered what he needed most – intellectual stimulation. Many of its members were lecturers at the University, and its library was substantial. It also was at that very moment playing a leading role in reforming the nature of monastic life within the Augustinian community across Christendom, which clearly appealed to Luther's Christian humanist tendencies.[39]

Although it was the Ninety-Five Theses of 1517 that established Luther's international literary reputation, he had already written commentaries on the penitential Psalms and the Epistle to the Romans, as well as published a disputation against scholastic theologians, in the three years leading up to that transformative event. It is significant that, after the publication of the Theses, Martin ceased to use his actual surname 'Luder', but instead signed himself 'Eleutherius', a Greek word meaning 'the freed man'. In time, that sobriquet was altered to 'Luther', but the implication of this new patronymic would have been lost on few. In almost all of his subsequent writings, a small selection of which follows, he emphasized the freedom he came to know by abandoning the performance of works in order to curry the approbation of a vengeful God. In place of the indulgences, pilgrimages, and saying of numerous Masses, Luther found freedom in simply trusting divine grace for his salvation. These publications, in book and pamphlet form, were persuasive enough to help bring modernity to birth in the West.

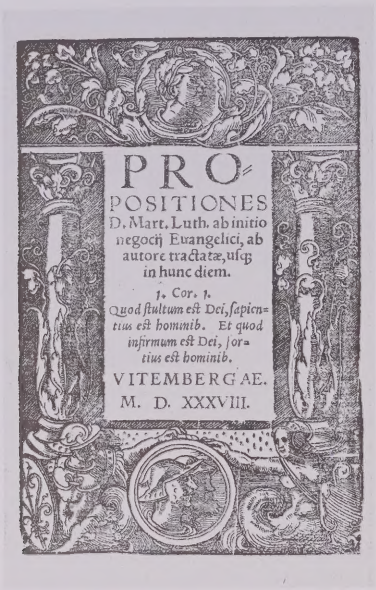
Ie ſyben Buß=
pſalmē ūdir teütſcher auſſleg=
ung/Nach dem ſchrifftlichen ſynne zů Chri
ſti vnd Gottes gnaden/nebē ſeins ſelbē
ware erklärūg/grundelich gerich=
tet. Durch den Hochgelerten
Doctorē Martinū Luther
Auguſtiner zů Wit=
tenberg.

9 Martin Luther (1483–1546). *Die syben Buszpsalme[n] mit teütscher Auszlegung nach dem schrifftlichen Synne zu Christi vnd Gottes Gnaden.* Strasbourg: Johann Knobloch, 1519.

Luther's first published work was this German translation of, and commentary upon, the seven penitential Psalms, originally issued at Wittenberg in 1517. It also has the distinction of being the first biblical text that Luther rendered into the vernacular. Since he was not yet proficient in Hebrew, he largely depended on St Jerome's Vulgate as his source text, but where the sense of the Latin was ambiguous, he consulted the Hebrew version of the Psalms produced in 1512 by the principal Hebraist of the day, Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522).[40] Reuchlin had been subject to vigorous persecution by the Dominicans of Cologne who were attempting to prevent the introduction and dissemination of Hebrew texts, for which effort they earned Luther's strong condemnation. It was through this personal encounter with the Hebrew psalter that Luther began to clarify his own theological sense of sin and grace, a theme that would overshadow the rest of his career as a churchman and reformer. The contemporary annotations on the title page of this treatise note that in addition to the traditional penitential Psalms – 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, and 143 – Luther also felt that the 25th should be included.

As demonstrated throughout this exhibition, the Alsatian city of Strasbourg would quickly become one of the most important centres for the printing of Reformation texts. In fact, this pamphlet (the fifth printing of Luther's commentary) was issued there some five years before the municipality actually declared itself for the Reformation. In the seventeen years immediately preceding Luther's publication of the Ninety-Five Theses there were only eight printers in Strasbourg; between 1517 and 1560 that number doubled, with five large-scale and eleven medium-scale operations supplying a willing

market for reformed materials.[41] The printer, Johann Knobloch (d. 1528), who had established his press at Strasbourg in 1500, was one of three printers to issue the first Lutheran tracts there in the year 1519.


PRO-
POSITIONES
D. Mart. Luth. ab initio
negocij Euangelici, ab
autore tractatæ, usq;
in hunc diem.
1. Cor. 1.
Quod stultum est Dei, sapien-
tius est hominib. Et quod
infirmum est Dei, for-
tius est hominib.
VITEMBERGAE.
M. D. XXXVIII.

10 Martin Luther (1483–1546). *Propositiones D. Mart. Luth. ab initio negocii Evangelici, ab autore tractatae, usque in hunc diem.* Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1538.

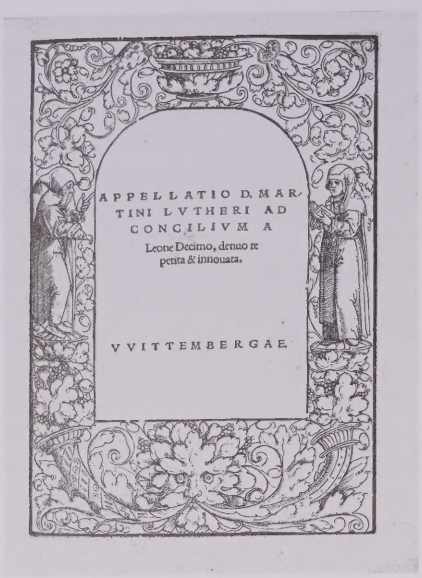
On 31 October 1517 the Augustinian friar, Martin Luther, allegedly hammered ninety-five *propositiones* or theses, questioning certain practices and doctrines of late medieval Christianity – especially the purchase of indulgences – to the church door of Wittenberg Castle, initiating what has come to be known as 'The Reformation'. It was his closest associate, Philip Melanchthon who, some years after Luther's death, claimed that his friend had first made his opinions known in this dramatic fashion. For more than fifty years now, however, his account has been a matter for debate. What is certain is that Luther did indeed write to his religious superiors, including the Bishop of Mainz, on that day, and he enclosed the Theses with his letter, intending them as points for future debate. The Theses appeared in print and were disseminated within weeks, in placard form at Nuremberg, and as a pamphlet in Basel. This 1538 publication begins with the Ninety-Five Theses, but also provides a chronologically ordered compilation and synthesis of the Reformer's theological opinions as they had evolved over the intervening twenty-one years. Among them are his *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam*, prepared in September 1517; the theses Luther

defended at the Heidelberg Disputation of 1518; and an undated circular disputation on the sacrifice of the Mass. Preceding the main text is a new introduction by Luther providing the context within which the Ninety-Five Theses had originally emerged. Among other things, he makes the striking claim that he 'knew nothing at all as to what indulgences were, even as the whole papacy did not know anything about them. They were cultivated only by usage and custom. So I did not begin to dispute in order to remove them; but since I knew what they were not, I wanted to learn what they were.' Luther is clearly being somewhat disingenuous here since, during his only visit to Rome in 1511, he was determined to obtain an indulgence for his late grandfather, and even expressed the wish that his parents could already be deceased so as to exploit the possibility of obtaining some of the many indulgences available in the Holy City.[42]

The Ninety-Five Theses not only initiated a religious revolution; they also launched a formidable publishing career for Luther. In the year following the appearance of the Theses, eighteen more of his original works were published, the most popular of which was a sermon attacking the practice of indulgences. That pamphlet alone was reprinted in all of the major German centres, with the exception of the Catholic city of Cologne.[43] While a printing press had been established at Wittenberg in 1502 (shortly after the establishment of the university) it would not be of immediate help in disseminating Luther's ideas. In fact, five printers opened for business there and subsequently closed between the years 1502 and 1516. It was Luther's growing renown in the years after 1517 that actually caused the print trade to flourish in his hometown, and in the end Wittenberg would publish more books in the course of the sixteenth century than any other place in the German-speaking territories.[44]

11 Martin Luther (1483–1546). *Appellatio D. Martini Lutheri ad concilium a Leone Decimo, denuo repetita & innouata.* Wittenberg: [Melchior Lotter], 1520.

In October of 1518, Luther was summoned to explain himself before the papal legate, Thomas, Cardinal Cajetan (1469–1534), at the Diet of Augsburg. It rapidly became clear that his case would not receive an unbiased hearing from Roman authorities, and that he would in fact be taken to Rome to face interrogation there. Among other things, during the Diet, Luther had been gulled into denying the authority of a General Council of the Church, a principle that he believed in fervently. With the help of his supporters, the monk was spirited away from Augsburg and safely returned to Wittenberg. His response to the experience was to summon notaries and witnesses to the Chapel of the Holy Spirit in Wittenberg the following month, where he formally appealed to a General Council for an impartial



airing of his grievances. That appeal was first printed by Johann Froben in Basel in 1518, in a pamphlet that unhesitatingly affirmed the unratified conciliarism of the Council of Constance. It was not, however, a strategy approved by Rome. On 15 June 1520, shortly after a theological commission had completed a study of Luther's writings, Pope Leo X excommunicated Luther in the famous Bull, *Exsurge Domine.* Besides passing judgment on some of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses, the Pope also condemned the monk's presumptuous, and seemingly befuddled, conciliar appeal, saying: 'What is worse, adding evil to evil, and on learning of the citation, he broke forth in a rash appeal to a future council. This to be sure was contrary to the constitution of Pius II and Julius II our predecessors that all appealing in this way are to be punished with the penalties of heretics. In vain does he implore the help of a council, since he openly admits that he does not believe in a council.' Shortly after the Bull of excommunication was issued, Luther republished his 1518 appeal in this rare pamphlet, printed at Wittenberg by Melchior Lotter, who would also issue the first edition of Luther's German New Testament in 1522.

Luther's cause was rapidly making him a reluctant celebrity in many political, theological, and social circles around Europe. His audience was now the reading public of Europe, and while Europe was voraciously reading, much of it was also trembling. Leo's papal Bull explicitly forbade the printing, distribution, reading, possession, or citation of any of Luther's works. After Luther publicly burned *Exsurge Domine*, the Pope issued a second decree, *Decet Romanum Pontificum*, condemning Lutheranism and demanding that all written works associated with the man and his movement

be committed to the flames.[45] A similar decree was issued by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) at the conclusion of the Diet of Worms in 1521, but to little avail.

12 Martin Luther (1483–1546). *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae*. Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1520.

Together with 'On Christian Liberty' and 'Address to the Nobility of the German Nation', this pamphlet is one of the three great Luther treatises of 1520, containing Luther's important critique of late medieval Catholic sacramental theology and practice. In it he identifies the papacy with the antichrist for the first time, and argues that the legal structure of the Roman Church has in fact reduced the ordinary Christian to the status of a slave, hence the allusion to the 'Babylonian captivity'. His most radical assertion here is that there are only three sacraments established by the Scriptures – baptism, confession, and the Eucharist – rather than the traditional enumeration of seven. He goes on to complain that the Church has used the sacraments to tighten its grip on the faithful, rather than using them to bring believers to true freedom in God. Among the most offensive practices and doctrines of the medieval church he condemns are the withholding of the cup in Holy Communion, transubstantiation, and the teaching of the Mass as sacrifice. This last abuse, he declared, was the worst since it turned the Lord's Supper into another pious 'work', opening the door to simony (the purchase of spiritual benefits), and leading to the notion that individuals were able to achieve divine grace by their own efforts. Rather, it was incumbent upon the Church to recover the New Testament notion of 'sacrament' in which grace is seen as a free gift rather than as a reward for complying with a series of human requirements. In frustration, Luther herein challenges the status quo saying, 'since few know this glory of baptism and the blessedness of Christian liberty, and cannot know them because of the tyranny of the pope, I for one will walk away from it all and redeem my conscience by bringing this charge against the pope and all his papists: Unless they will abolish their laws and traditions, and restore to Christ's churches their liberty and have it taught among them, they are guilty of all the souls that perish under this miserable captivity, and the papacy is truly the kingdom of Babylon, yes, the kingdom of the real Antichrist!'

Contemporary readers quickly recognized that in these few pages a Rubicon had been crossed, and the official response was swift and severe. It was condemned by the University of Paris on 15 April 1521.[46] Erasmus read the document, lamented that his efforts for some kind of compromise were now futile, and wrote that 'the breach is irreparable.'[47] In partial response, King Henry VIII co-wrote the *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, published in 1521, for which

Numina cœleſtem nobis peperere Lutherum,
Noſtra diu maius fæcla videre nihil.
Quem ſi Pontificum crudelis deprimit error,
Non feret iratos impia terra Deos.

Pope Leo X named him 'Defender of the Faith'.

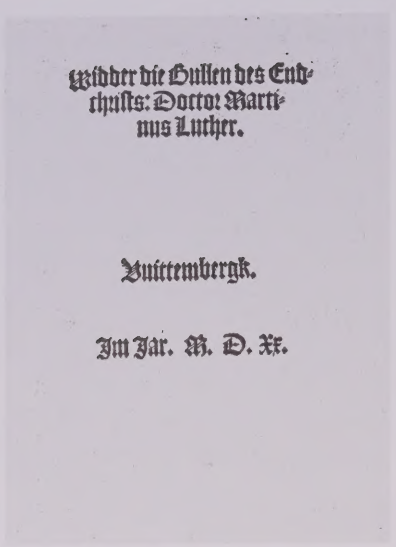
Released in the same year as the first Wittenberg edition, this third printing is the first to include the famous woodcut portrait of the Reformer, executed by Hans Buldung Grien (1484–1545), considered by many the most gifted disciple of Albrecht Dürer. Its inclusion is one of the clearest signs of the celebrity status Luther had quickly achieved among the intelligentsia of Europe. It is also worthy of note that when this pamphlet was printed there, Strasbourg had not yet formally declared for the Reformation. Quasi-Lutheran preaching did not actually appear in the Alsatian city until 1521, and the Mass was not formally abolished there until 1529.[48] The personal decision of Johann Schott (1477–1548), a printer of medium importance, to take the risk of publishing such a controversial work while the city was still governed by a Catholic magistracy was not without precedent. Some sixteen years earlier, he had issued a contentious volume containing anatomical illustrations

entitled *Margarita philosophica*. For his efforts he had been summoned to appear before the city council and instructed to desist from printing works liable to corrupt the morals of the citizenry. His response was to print a second edition.[49] Educated at Freiburg, Heidelberg, and Basel, Schott was responsible for 229 titles in the course of his career.[50] His determination to print *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* in 1520 – both in Latin and German – is a clear indication of his early commitment to the new religious movement sweeping across the German-speaking lands, while his later projects demonstrate his continued support for even more decidedly nonconformist authors.

13 Martin Luther (1483–1546). *Widder die Bullen des Endchrists.* Wittenburg: [Melchior Lotter], 1520.

The task of imposing *Exsurge Domine* on Saxony was entrusted to the Scholastic theologian Johann Eck (1486–1543) and Girolamo, Cardinal Aleandro (1480–1542). Their commission was unenviable given the fact that Luther enjoyed broad support in the Germanic territories and the Netherlands, especially among the many Humanists, like Erasmus, who were sympathetic to the cause of ecclesiastical reform. Luther first became aware of the Bull through rumour, and initially believed the document to be a forgery, before actually laying eyes on a copy bearing papal seals in October of 1520. Whoever the author was, whether pope or not, was the Antichrist, in his opinion. His response was swift, and came in the form of this pamphlet, 'Against the Antichrist's Bull', published in both Latin and German, in which he calls the condemnation a 'cursed, impudent, and devilish' document, and asserts that, according to the standards of the Scriptures, it is the Pope who is actually heretical. His concluding words are a declaration: 'The pope is God's enemy, the persecutor of Christ who disturbs Christendom, and the true Antichrist.'[51] The Bull *Exsurge Domine*, the last papal document addressed to a united Western Christendom, and Luther's response to it in this pamphlet, mark a watershed moment in the history of the Western Church. From this point on the division between Catholic and Protestant is truly established.

When one thinks of the great printed works of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation there is a tendency to focus on weighty tomes of extraordinary gravity: Luther's German Bible, Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, and Bellarmine's *Disputationes* to name but three. Often overlooked in the discussion, however, is the role of the humble pamphlet that developed as a separate literary genre at this time in response to the immediate needs of the Reformers themselves. The Reformation pamphlet was not merely a neutral vehicle for the dissemination of information; it actually



helped to excite the debates of the period itself. As John Flood notes, 'the "brief, blunt, vulgar" Reformation pamphlet intended for a wide but often unsophisticated and sometimes confused readership became a major tool of those who sought to change the religious loyalties of large numbers of people.'[52] Unlike books, which could take weeks and months to print, pamphlets could be prepared and printed in a matter of days, and distributed easily by the German ancestors of chapmen at relatively cheap prices. It is estimated that the publication of a sixteen-page pamphlet could be accomplished in about two days, meaning that Luther's tracts and sermons could be in readers' hands almost immediately after their original delivery from the pulpit.[53] They were also reprinted as piracies, making their content even more widely available. It is estimated that about seven million pamphlets were printed in the first decade of the Reformation alone, and more than a quarter of these originated from Luther's own pen, making him by far and away the most popular author in this format.[54] Indeed, it was at Wittenberg that the *Flugschrift* or religious pamphlet was introduced as a new literary format after Luther began publishing there in 1516.[55]

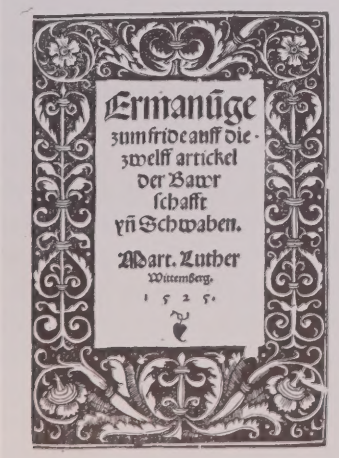
14 Martin Luther. *Ermanu[n]ge zum Fride auff die zwelff Artickel der Bawrschafft y[n]n Schwaben.* Wittenberg: [Joseph Klug], 1525.

The Peasants' Revolt of 1524 to 1526 was in part an unforeseen result of the Reformation begun by Luther seven years earlier. Although his principal concern in 1517 was to redress the abuses in the Church,

the ramifications of Luther's thought reverberated throughout all levels of German society. Inherent, ancient anticlericalism in some regions combined with antiestablishment sentiment, perhaps best articulated in the 'Twelve Articles of the Swabian League' to which Luther responds in this pamphlet.

In March of 1525 some fifty peasants from Upper Swabia gathered to consider a united front against the Swabian League, a defence association of the Imperial Estates that had been established in 1488 by Frederick III with the support of his brother, the Archbishop of Mainz. The Articles they adopted partially drew upon ideas being promoted by the Reformers and called for social change in many areas. While other peasant organizations advocated similar programmes at this time, the Twelve Articles are the only example to survive in print. Before the summer of 1525, some 25,000 copies had been printed and disseminated throughout the German-speaking territories, a remarkable feat for the era. Among other things, the peasants' Articles demanded the right of any municipality to elect and remove a preacher if he behaved improperly, and asserted that it was a tenet of Scripture that all people were free. Their concerns, however, transcended the sanctuary, insisting for example that everyone should be able to catch game, fowl, and fish regardless of their class and that the peasant should 'not do his work in vain, for every person is worth his pay.' They concluded with the assertion that their demands are entirely consistent with the Word of God, confirming the degree to which evangelization had already spread throughout the German territories in less than a decade.

Luther, however, was taken aback by the Peasants' Revolt and in this pamphlet, issued in April of 1525, he responds. While he chastises the princes whose actions have provoked the uprising in the


Ermanũge
zum fride auff die
zwelff artickel
der Bawr
ſchafft
yñ Schwaben.
Mart. Luther
Wittemberg.
1525.

first place, he simultaneously reminds the people that the principles of reform can never be used to justify the adoption of violent means to achieve a more just world. The peasants' forces, though large, were no match for the German princes, their armies and mercenaries, and the revolt was eventually suppressed. Throughout the hostilities, peasants quoted from the Gospels, and while the Swiss radical Reformer Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531) may have initially exerted greater influence over them than Luther, Zwingli's silence during the affair made Luther's intervention all the more important.[56] In the end, Luther rejected the peasants' violence and in the third edition of this pamphlet encouraged the authorities to stand firm, even suggesting that if the peasantry continued their insurrection that they should be killed 'like mad dogs.'

It is clear from this example that the pamphlets of the Reformation era addressed not only the religious controversies of the day, but also important philosophical, economic, and political issues. From the beginning Luther had conflated his biblical critique of the Church within the context of broader social problems, submitting them to his new understanding of Scripture as a liberating force.[57] Generally printed in the vernacular, their brief format ensured both their popularity and easy dissemination. It is estimated that about ten thousand pamphlets were printed by German-language presses between 1500 and 1530, almost a quarter of these between 1520 and 1526. On his own, Luther is credited with about twenty per cent of the total.[58]

The printer, Joseph Klug (1490–1552), embraced the Reformation in its early days. He had previously worked in the Nuremberg shop of Anton Koberger (d. 1513), and from 1523 to 1525 was head of printing under Lucas Cranach the Elder in Wittenberg. He is particularly associated with the publication of early Lutheran hymns, including the great Reformation war cry *Ein feste Burg*, and chose as his device the Luther Rose under the Tree of Life.[59]

15 Martin Luther. *De servo arbitrio.* Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1525.

Whether human beings enjoyed free will and could participate in any meaningful way in the achievement of their own salvation would become one of the burning issues of the Reformation era. The position of Catholics and Protestants on this single point hardened throughout the course of the sixteenth century, delineating the fault lines between the two groups perhaps more than any other theological argument. Eventually, the doctrines of predestination and double predestination, especially as developed by those who followed Calvin's opinions on the subject, would become the logical conclusion to a strict adherence to the belief that human free will

was an illusion. This division was first laid bare by Erasmus who in 1524 wrote his treatise *De libero arbitrio*, on the freedom of the will. To this point, Erasmus had avoided direct confrontation with Luther. He had sympathized with the monk on many points, and was himself concerned with the moral reform of Christendom. He saw in some of Luther's positions, however, a certain intemperance, elevating the power, justice, and foreknowledge of God so high that the efforts of human beings to live ethical lives could be viewed as unnecessary. Luther waited a year and then responded in this book, considered by many to be his greatest theological triumph. Basing his argument almost entirely on the Scriptures, Luther argues for the supreme sovereignty of God, maintaining that the inherent sinfulness of humanity makes it impossible for the will or human merit to play any role in achieving salvation, which is ultimately God's free gift. 'Let all the "free-will" in the world do all it can with all its strength', Luther responds to Erasmus. 'It will never give rise to a single instance of ability to avoid being hardened if God does not give the Spirit, or of meriting mercy if it is left to its own strength.' Luther's reply elicited a rebuttal treatise by Erasmus in 1526 entitled *Hyperaspistes* in which he challenges the Reformer's arguments point by point. One of the lasting effects of this exchange, however, was that Luther and his supporters largely abandoned Erasmus, seeing in his writings an expression of the medieval sophistry that they virulently opposed.

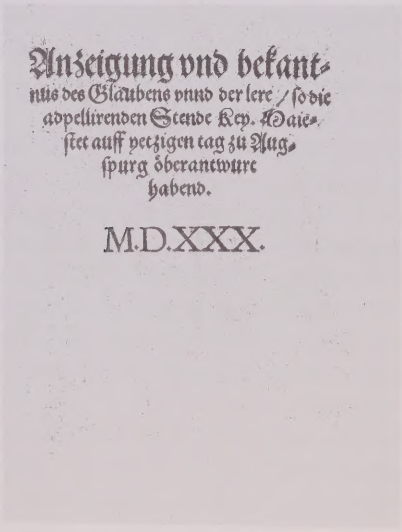
This first edition of Luther's seminal text bears a woodcut title page border executed by Georg Lemberger (d. ca. 1545), a German artist who, among other commissions, also provided the illustrations for the first section of Luther's 1523 New Testament. The Fisher

copy includes extensive annotations throughout in a contemporary hand.

16 *Anzeigung und Bekantnus des Glaubens und der Lere* [The Augsburg Confession]. [s.l.: s.n.], 1530.

This forty-six page tract is the first printed German edition of the Augsburg Confession, the fundamental expression of the new Lutheran faith. It was first presented at the Diet of Augsburg on 25 June 1530, though Charles V forbade its publication without his express permission. The Emperor's wishes notwithstanding, it was in fact printed before the Diet had even concluded in the autumn of that year. The Confession consists of twenty-eight articles many of which were consistent with Catholic teaching. Among them, however, were other articles that would set Lutheranism apart from traditional orthodoxy, including the doctrine of justification by faith, the role of good works, the nature of the Church, the reduction of the sacraments from seven to two, and support for clerical marriage.

Although no printer or place of publication can be firmly associated with this pamphlet, it is believed to have come from Strasbourg, Memmingen, Constance, or Lindau, the representatives of which cities, though present at the Diet, were not permitted to sign the Confession. It has been suggested that one of them may have sent a copy of the document home for printing and rapid circulation to generate support.[60] This first German Confession is considered among the best editions since it agrees closely with the copy that was actually delivered to the Emperor.


Anzeigung vnd bekant-
nus des Glaubens vnnd der lere / so die
appellirenden Stende Key. Mai-
stet auff yetzigen tag zu Aug-
spurg überantwurt
habend.

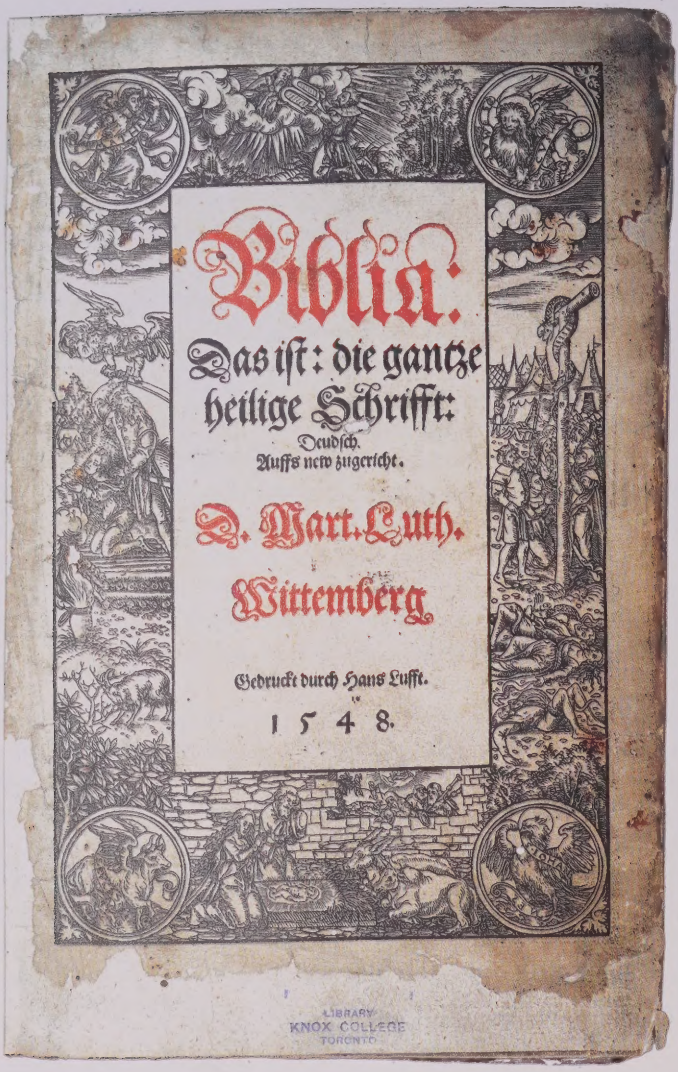
M.D.XXX.

Like many Reformation-era pamphlets, the Confession is not a thing of beauty. It gives the impression of having been printed quickly and inexpensively with little eye for typography and design. As such, it contributes to the general decline in printing quality found at the beginning of the sixteenth century. But as one commentator notes, 'to some extent the printers were testing the market for what would sell, both with regard to quality of the product itself and the quality of the content – how polemical and libellous could one be and still get away with it?'[61] As with 'retweeting' in modern social media circles, the reprinting of these pamphlets in the first generation of the Reformation, both legally and as piracies, serves as a barometer for the popularity of the movement. With few other rivals, the pamphlets and tracts of Luther and his associates enjoyed the greatest demand. As evidence of this fact, Luther's first German pamphlet, his *Eynn Sermon von dem Ablasz und Gnade* (on indulgences and grace), was reprinted fourteen times in 1518 alone, in print runs of at least a thousand copies each.[62]

17 *Biblia, das ist, die gantze heilige Schrifft: Deudsch auffs new Zugericht.* Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1548.

Luther's Bible is the best known German translation of the Scriptures, but it was certainly not the first. Before his elegant edition appeared – the German equivalent of the King James in the English-speaking world – there had already been eighteen earlier German versions. These publications, however, were all derived from St Jerome's Latin Vulgate rather than from the original Hebrew and Greek sources, and so were inferior both from a linguistic, as well as an academic and stylistic point of view. In addition, the glosses to these pre-Lutheran German texts often supported pious practices rejected by the Reformers, such as justification by works.[63]

Luther began translating his New Testament in the spring of 1521 at Wartburg, where he was enjoying the hospitality of the Elector Frederick the Wise, using Erasmus's *Novum Instrumentum* of 1516 and his *Novum Testamentum* of 1519 as his source text.[64] His German New Testament was completed in three months and published at Wittenberg the following year, while the complete Bible did not appear until 1534.[65] Luther's Bible had its own preface, marginalia, and glosses explaining the doctrines of his new movement, liberally sprinkled with anti-Roman critique along the way. The woodcut illustrations were the work of his friend, Lucas Cranach. As literacy and wealth spread through the German middle class, the Bible started to be found in many homes. To a certain degree, ownership of a Bible was an indication of social status, but it also reflected the curiosity of the population with regards to that most alluring of books which, until recently, had been the province of clerics alone.



The appearance of Luther's German Bible promoted individual study and reflection, and gave rise to the publication of a large number of books and pamphlets in related areas by the laity, yet another innovation in Christian history.[66]

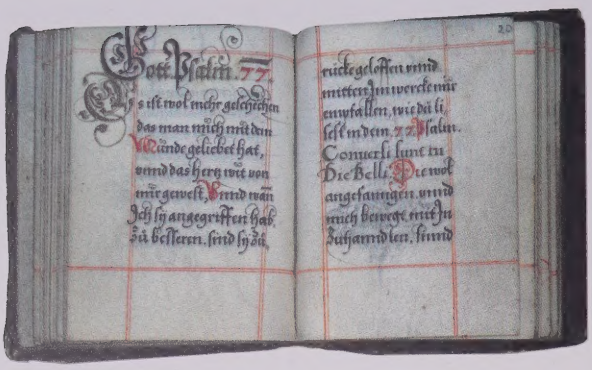
Every act of translation is also an act of interpretation, and this was certainly the case for Luther and his Bible. He viewed all of Scripture through the lens of St Paul's theology, with its dynamic tension between 'law' and 'grace', leading him to several controversial conclusions about the relative canonicity of certain books. He dismissed the Epistle of James as a work of straw owing to its support for the doctrine of works, and he was doubtful about the merits of Hebrews, Jude, and Revelation.[67]

The production of a folio Bible, like this one, represented a huge investment of time, human resources, and money. While it required months in the press, a large expenditure of capital for paper, as well as the payment of wages to the press's workers before any return on the investment could be expected, once in print Bibles like Luther's proved to be extraordinarily popular. Indeed, Luther's German Bible was one of the best-selling books of the sixteenth century.[68] The printer, Hans Lufft (1495–1584), had been associated with Luther since the early days of the Reformation, and was one of his closest friends and confidants. He came to be known as 'the Bible printer' since he produced the first complete Luther Bible in 1534 and, in the subsequent forty years, was credited with printing a further 100,000 copies.[69]

18 Lutheran Manuscript Prayer Book. [ca. 1550?]

The *Kleine Katechismus* is to Lutheranism what the *Book of Common Prayer* is to Anglicanism and *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* is to Calvinism. Luther published the text in 1529 for the instruction of the young in the fundamental precepts of Christianity, and it was memorized by generations of the faithful, especially in preparation for Confirmation, until the twentieth century.[70] In its original form, it occupied but a single sheet that could be hung in the home where children would study it frequently and easily. It was noteworthy for its simplicity and clarity, and it has been suggested that modern catechesis found its first expression here. The fact that German Catholic catechisms first started to appear in Bavaria in its wake is indicative of the book's tremendous cultural influence.[71] The *Kleine Katechismus* has been reprinted and readapted in diverse editions.

The Small Catechism begins with an exposition of the Ten Commandments, followed by the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and then an explanation of Baptism, Confession and Absolution, and the Eucharist. At the end may be found the 'Tables of Duties' directed at parents, children, and pastors. While Luther's Large Catechism appeared in the same year, it was specifically intended for the use of teachers and the clergy and so did not enjoy the same degree of usage or influence as the Small, which was to be found in every good Lutheran home.[72] This particular prayer book, which contains among other things excerpts from the Small Catechism in the edition of the Reformer Johannes Brenz (1538) and Luther's *Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers für die einfältigen Laien* (first printed in 1519),[73] was given by Ursula Lempin to her son on 7 July 1607. An inscription at the beginning of the text, however, states that the manuscript was written by the man's father, Ulrich Lempin, likely sometime in the sixteenth century. Based on the character of the hand, it was probably transcribed around the year 1550, with orna-



mentation in red, black-silver, and gold. The majority of the manuscript deals with the Lord's Prayer (Auslegung des Vaterunsers) which, according to Luther, delivered the faithful 'from the unprofitable and burdensome babbling of the Seven Canonical Hours.'[74] Based on the spelling and linguistic features, it was likely written in the southern part of the German-speaking territories.

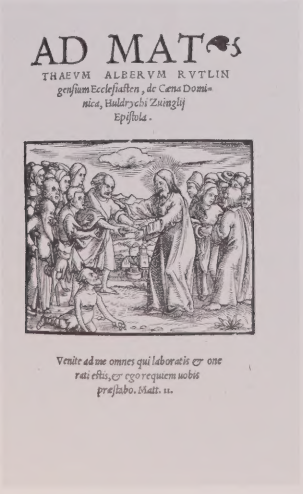
PART III: THE REFORMED TRADITION

The Reformed tradition traces its origins to the teachings of Johann Oecolampadius of Basel, Ulrich Zwingli of Zurich, John Calvin of Geneva, and their associates. These scholars broke with the Roman Church over such issues as the primacy of Scripture, the priesthood of all believers, their understanding of the number and nature of the sacraments, and the unique mediation of Christ. They also differed with Lutherans and Anglicans on a number of the same points, not the least of which included the doctrine of predestination, the role of the Law, regeneration through Baptism, and the nature of the Eucharistic 'presence'. One of the publishing innovations that emerged from the Reformed movement was the creation of a new genre of literature concerned, not simply with the transmission of agreed doctrines, but with debate, argument, and intellectual battle.[75] Centres of printing grew rapidly after individual cities declared themselves for the Reformation, and became magnets for dissenting refugee printers who had previously been working in Catholic territories. Thus Strasbourg, Basel, and Geneva all became essential hubs for the printing of specifically reformed materials. Geneva, for example, officially became a reformed city in May of 1536 with the Protestant printer Jean Girard arriving very shortly thereafter at the invitation of the chief pastor, Guillaume Farel (1489–1565). By 1560 there were more than 130 Protestant printers in operation there, particularly specializing in vernacular printing.[76] Calvin had originally considered Strasbourg the centre for serious

publishing, and it was here that he issued all of his Latin works until 1547, when political instability and increasing religious strife threatened the safety of his manuscripts.[77] Meanwhile, Basel had already emerged as a major printing centre in the 1520s, partly because of its proximity to several leading centres of Humanist scholarship and scientific investigation, but especially as a result of the city's close association with Erasmus. Basel's reputation for religious tolerance drew numerous gifted printers from across Central Europe, helping to ensure its place in the front ranks of a growing publishing industry.[78]

19 Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531). *Ad Matthaeum Alberum Rutlingensium ecclesiasten, De cæna dominica, Huldrychi Zuinglii epistola.* Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1525.

In 1519 Ulrich Zwingli was appointed pastor of Zurich's Grossmünster from which place he engineered the reformation of his canton, as well as much of the German Swiss territory. A member of what came to be known as the 'Radical Reformation', Zwingli profoundly disagreed with Luther on several points of doctrine and practice, but particularly over the nature of the Eucharist. By 1524 Zwingli, who had studied with Johann Oecolampadius at the University of Basel, had adopted a metaphorical interpretation of the Eucharist in distinction to the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament espoused by both Luther and the Catholic Church.[79] By the end of that same year, many intellectuals in Zurich were arguing for a complete renewal of the way in which the Lord's Supper was celebrated there, demanding it be stripped of its mystical elements, and reinterpreting it along Evangelical lines as a simple meal. The Mass was in fact abolished in Zurich in 1525, and replaced by a communion service that would be celebrated only four times a year.


AD MATHAEVM ALBERVM RVTLIN
genſium Eccleſiaſten, de Cæna Dominica, Huldrychi Zuinglij Epiſtola.

Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis & onerati eſtis, & ego requiem uobis præſtabo. Matt. xi.

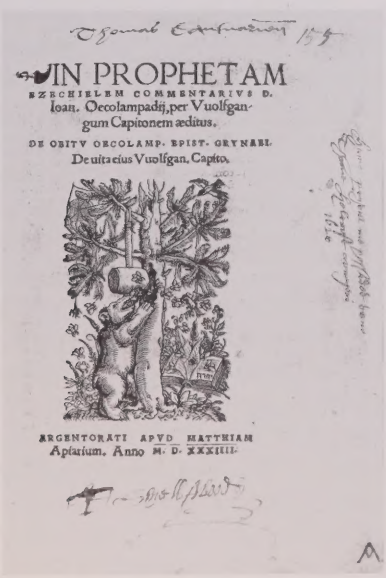
In this letter to Matthäus Alber (1495–1570), the Reformer of the church at Reutlingen, Zwingli explains that his rejection of belief in the Real Presence is based on his understanding of John 6:63: 'It is the spirit that gives life; the flesh is useless.' For Zwingli, to 'eat' Christ meant to consume his word and believe with the heart. The Eucharist, therefore, was a memorial in which the bread and wine simply signified Christ's body and blood. When received with faith, they were tokens of grace and redemption, but nothing more, and certainly not meant to be worshipped. Above all, the sacrificial character of the Mass was decisively rejected.

This rare treatise appeared in the same year that these dramatic liturgical changes were introduced at Zurich, and marks Zwingli's first clear enunciation of his thought on this crucial theological topic. Within two years, his new teachings would lead to a bitter confrontation with Luther and his followers. While the two men would never find common ground on the nature of the Eucharist, Zwingli's position would eventually be adopted by Calvin, and become one of the identifying marks of the Reformed tradition. Although he was a minister of the Gospel, Zwingli also considered himself a soldier for Christ and actually died in battle, with twenty of his fellow clergymen, fighting his religious opponents, *Die fünf Orte* (the Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug), on 11 October 1531. Upon hearing of his death, his friend Oecolampadius is reported to have said, 'Alas that Zwingli, whom I have so long regarded as my right arm, has fallen under the blows of cruel enemies.'[80] Luther's assessment of Zwingli's death was far less sympathetic. 'This is the result of the fame that they sought through blasphemies against the Communion of Christ', he wrote.[81]

The Fisher copy is part of a collection of eight early Zwingli treatises, including his *De vera et falsa religione* (1525), *De peccato originali declaratio* (1526), *Responsio brevis ad epistolam ... in qua de Eucharistia quaestio tractatur* (1526), *In catabaptistarum strophas elenchus Huldrichi Zuinglii* (1527), *Fidei ratio* (1530), *De prouidentia Dei anamnema* (1530), and *Christianæ fidei a Huldrycho Zvinglio prædicatæ* (1536) edited by Heinrich Bullinger. All of these titles were published by Christoph Froschauer (d. 1564), one of Zwingli's supporters from his early days as the 'People's Priest' at the Münster. Besides Zwingli, Froschauer also published the works of Martin Bucer, Wolfgang Capito, Oecolampadius, and Bullinger. His commitment to printing the works of these early Reformers came at a cost, however, since his publications could no longer be sold in the Swiss Catholic cantons nor in Lutheran Germany, owing to the ongoing Eucharistic controversy. The annual Frankfurt Book Fair proved to be his financial salvation, however, since while there, besides selling his own publications, he could buy books by international authors for resale back in his hometown.[82]

20 Johann Oecolampadius (1482–1531). *In prophetam Ezechielem commentarius.* Strasbourg: Matthias Apiarius, 1534.

Johann Oecolampadius was ordained priest in 1510, but left pastoral ministry not long afterwards in order to study Greek and Hebrew at the University of Tubingen which had been founded in 1477. It was while he was there that he met (and overshadowed) Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), the man who would become Luther's greatest collaborator.[83] By the winter of 1515, Oecolampadius found himself in Basel working as a corrector in Johann Froben's printing house, and assisting Erasmus as editor of his Greek New Testament, with particular responsibility for the Hebraisms found in the text.[84] In 1518, he was appointed cathedral preacher at Augsburg, and it was while there that he became enthusiastic about Luther's reforms which he himself adopted two years later. In 1522, with his personal security threatened, he returned to Basel where he assumed the position of preacher and lecturer, becoming the principal spokesman for the church there; his series of lectures on the prophet Isaiah is considered the beginning of the Reformation in that city.[85] Beginning in March of 1527, and concluding in the summer of the following year, he delivered his disquisitions on the prophet Ezekiel, edited by Wolfgang Capito (1478–1541), a leading light of the Strasbourg Reformation, in which city this book was posthumously published.[86] John Calvin, who himself fled to Basel in 1535, had the highest regard for Oecolampadius's biblical exegesis, and there is evidence that he may even have played some role in the editing of this particular text.[87]


IN PROPHETAM
EZECHIELEM COMMENTARIVS D.
Ioan. Oecolampadij, per Vuolfgangum Capitonem æditus.
DE OBITV OECOLAMP. EPIST. GRYNÆI.
De uita eius Vuolfgan. Capito.
ARGENTORATI APVD MATTHIAM
Apiarium. Anno M. D. XXXIIII.

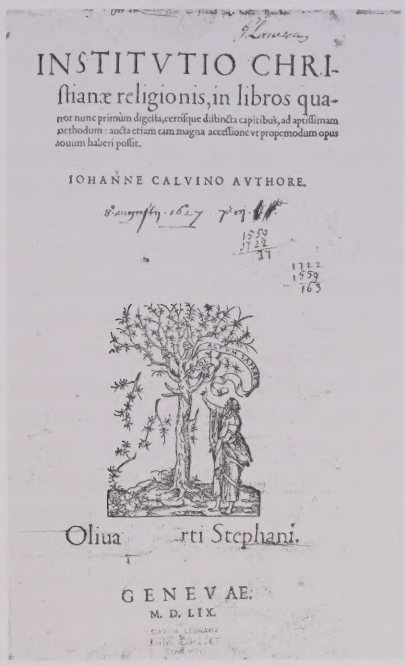
The Fisher copy of Oecolampadius's commentary is of particular importance since it once belonged to Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), Archbishop of Canterbury, whose mark of ownership appears on the title page. There is no other internal evidence that Cranmer read the book, though the absence of annotations is really indicative of nothing in and of itself. Cranmer's personal copy of Archbishop Hermann of Cologne's *Deliberatio*, now in the library of Chichester Cathedral, also shows no signs of use, though it is abundantly clear that the work was enormously influential over his development of the *Book of Common Prayer*.[88] Cranmer's library, which was consulted by many academics and theologians during his lifetime, was seized during the reign of Queen Mary and over the centuries was dispersed around the world to some sixty-five identified libraries.[89] Scholars have since tried to reconstitute its holdings and have determined that at its height there were about five hundred printed books and about one hundred manuscripts. This was a huge library for its day, especially when compared with that of Cambridge which, when catalogued for the Marian commissioners in 1557, housed only 175 books.[90] While Luther was the Protestant author most frequently found on Cranmer's shelves, Oecolampadius's Old Testament commentaries assumed second place.[91]

The signature, as it appears on the title page here – 'Thomas Cantuar.' – is likely not in the archbishop's own hand, but in that of one of his secretaries, as is the case with most of his library. Since the style of signature in the books does not appear to change over the majority of extant examples, it is believed that they may have all been marked in the summer of 1553 while an inventory of his library was being prepared (following the failed coup attempt by supporters of the Lady Jane Grey to place her on the English throne), in order to prevent their dispersal before appraisal.[92] A significant portion of the library was given to Henry Fitzalan, 12th Earl of Arundel (1511?–1580) and then to his son-in-law, John, Lord Lumley (1534–1609). Since both men were Catholics, however, they did not retain any of the Protestant books.[93] That being the case, it would seem likely that the Fisher copy was separated from the main Cranmer collection around 1554, since the Marian proclamation of 13 June 1555 strictly forbade ownership of such obviously Protestant works on pain of death.

In 1620, the Fisher copy was gifted to Hamo Percival by Thomas Holcroft, and by the nineteenth century had entered the library of Dr Herbert Norman Evans (1802–1877) of Hampstead. His library sold in 1864 to a Mr Waller, perhaps a bookseller, for £2. By 1887 it was in the possession of the Reverend Alfred Henry Reynar (1840–1921), Methodist minister and professor of English and Church History at the University of Victoria College, Toronto. He subsequently presented it to his son-in-law, the Reverend William Leslie Armitage (1870–1952), an Anglican priest who served as Dean

of St John's Cathedral, Saskatoon from 1926 to 1940. In 1994, his daughters Helen and Katharine Armitage donated the volume to the Fisher Library.

21 John Calvin (1509–1564). *Institutio Christianae religionis.* Geneva: Robert Estienne, 1559.


INSTITVTIO CHRI-
ſtianæ religionis, in libros qua-
tuor nunc primùm digeſta, certiſque diſtincta capitibus, ad aptiſſimam
methodum: aucta etiam tam magna acceſſione vt propemodùm opus
nouum haberi poſſit.
IOHANNE CALVINO AVTHORE.
Oliua rti Stephani.
GENEVAE.
M. D. LIX.

In 1523, the fourteen-year-old John Calvin moved from his quiet hometown of Noyon to Paris, a city already consumed with theological controversy, in order to begin his university education. While Luther's ideas were viewed favourably by many in the French intelligentsia, the conservative theological faculty of the Sorbonne was far less receptive and drew up lists of heretics for condemnation.[94] It is quite likely that in the very month that Calvin began his courses he may have witnessed the burning of the Augustinian monk, Jean Vallière, for his unorthodox positions concerning the incarnation of Christ.[95] Nevertheless, Calvin was apparently still firmly within the Catholic fold into the 1530s. In 1531, for example, he wrote to a young Parisian woman, encouraging her as she was about to take her final vows as a nun; the end of the same year found him in friendly correspondence with a bishop in his native Picardy; and in 1532, he dedicated his first published work, a commentary on Seneca's *De clementia*, to the abbot of St-Eloi de Noyon.[96] By the summer of 1533, however, Calvin had become a convert to the cause of religious reform.

Three short years later, this book, the most systematic expression of his belief, was first printed in Basel. It initially appeared in Latin but was translated into French within five years, thereby representing the first theological treatise in French prose. It not only served a catechetical purpose, but was also a defence of the Reformation itself. Originally a relatively small volume consisting of six chapters (following the plan of Luther's catechism) it expanded to three times that size by the second edition of 1539. Calvin considered this 1559 edition the mature exposition of his view of ancient philosophy, the Church Fathers, the Scholastic movement, and the state of the Roman Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. Within its pages he rejected papal supremacy, declaring the Bible to be the sole authority over faith and conscience, and his emphasis on the doctrine of predestination had not received such fulsome treatment since the days of St Augustine of Hippo (354-430) some thousand years earlier. The first edition of the *Institutes* sold out within a year of its printing, with certain copies printed under the name of 'Alcuin' (an anagram of 'Caluin') to avoid the glare of Roman Catholic censors.[97]

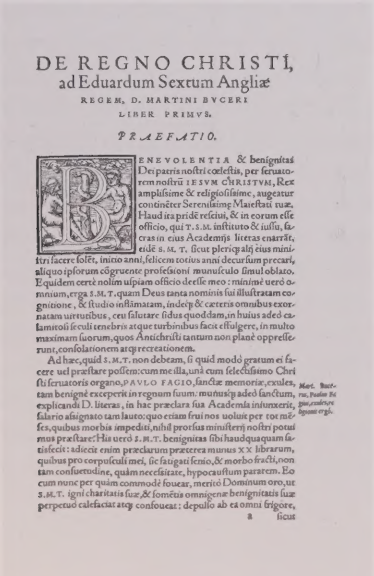
It is well known that Geneva, which had declared for the Reformation in 1536, became the centre of Calvin's religious activities; but one of the side effects of Calvin's flight to the Swiss city-state was the development of a printing industry largely dedicated to providing a steady supply of literature to the Protestants of France, where the publication of such materials was strictly banned. Indeed, for a while printing became Geneva's principal industry, and books its major export. This 1559 volume was printed by Robert Estienne (1503–1559), one of Geneva's most influential printers, and was but one of the many books issued by his press that incurred the censors' wrath. Between 1526 and 1550, while still printing in Paris, practically every edition of the Scriptures that he issued had been challenged by the Faculty of Theology there. In order to practise his Calvinist faith in peace, Estienne moved to Geneva in 1547. It is suitable, therefore, that this volume, deemed by many the most important doctrinal work of the Reformation, is dated 16 August 1559, and was the final work of the great printer, who died on 7 September of the same year. It is a noteworthy copy, therefore, not only for its content, but for the fact that it represents the single example among Estienne's similar Geneva publications that actually identifies its place of printing openly on its title page with his own name, an omission typical of his earlier works in order to allow their easier importation into France.[98]

As impersonal as statistics may be, they have the power to astonish readers with the starkness of reality, and that is certainly the case when examining the influence of John Calvin as an author during the second stage of the Reformation. Of all the sheets of print produced by individual writers in the period from 1541 (when

Calvin finally settled in Geneva after a three-year exile) until 1565 (the year after he died), Calvin is responsible for an astounding forty-two per cent of the total. His next nearest rivals were Pierre Viret (12%), Bernardino Ochino (4%), Guillaume Farel (3%), and Philip Melanchthon (3%); ironically, the Bible accounts for only fourteen per cent of total print output during this same period.[99] It is clear, therefore, that the way in which Calvin's writings flooded the market at such a critical moment in history was unprecedented, and helps to explain why his thought took hold so rapidly in such diverse parts of the European continent.

22 Martin Bucer (1491–1551). *De regno Christi Iesu seruatoris nostri, libri II.* Basel: Joannes Oporinus, [1557].

During the period of his exile from Geneva (1538–1541) John Calvin lived and worked as a minister in the city of Strasbourg, where Martin Bucer had established himself as a Reformer in 1523. Before his arrival, Calvin had been openly critical of some of Bucer's doctrines, but while staying in the city, he enjoyed full access to his library. The two consequently became friends and confidants. In fact, Bucer became one of Calvin's greatest admirers and in time exerted significant influence over Calvin's thought, especially on the nature and structure of the Church. In 1549, following the imposition of the Augsburg Interim, Bucer fled to Cambridge where he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. His hope was to assist with the thorough reformation of the Edwardian church, spiritually, politically, and economically, and establish the 'reign of Christ' in the country, a plan expressed in this practical treatise *De regno Christi*. This last work of Bucer's was to have been presented to King



DE REGNO CHRISTI,
ad Eduardum Sextum Angliæ
REGEM, D. MARTINI BVCERI
LIBER PRIMVS.

PRAEFATIO.

BENEVOLENTIA & benignitas Dei patris nostri cœlestis, per seruatorem nostrũ IESVM CHRISTVM, Rex amplissime & religiosissime, augeatur continẽter Serenitatis Maiestatũ tuæ. Haud ita pridẽ refertũ, & in eorum esse officio, qui T. S. M. instituto & iussu, scr[i]pras in eius Academijs literas enarrãt, eidẽ S. M. T. sicut plerisq; alijs eius ministris facere solet, initio anni, felicem totius anni decursum precari, aliquo ipsorum cõgruente professioni munúculo sinul oblato. Equidem certè nolim uspiam officio deesse meo: minimè uerò omnium, erga S. M. T. quam Deus tanta nominis sui illustratam cognitione, & studio inflãmatam, indecp & cæteris omnibus exornatam uirtutibus, ceu salutare fidus quod dam, in huius adeó calamitosi seculi tenebris atque turbinibus facis effulgere, in multo maximam suorum, quos Antichristi tantum non planè oppresserunt, consolationem atq; recreationem.

Ad hæc, quid S. M. T. non debeam, si quid modò gratum ei facere uel præstare possem: cum me illa, unà cum selectissimo Christi seruatoris organo, PAVLO FAGIO, sanctæ memoriæ, exules, tam benignè exceperit in regnum suum: munusq; adeò sanctum, explicandi D. literas, in hac præclara sua Academia instituerit, salario assignato tam lauto: quo etiam frui nos uoluit per tot mẽses, quibus morbis impediti, nihil prorsus ministerij nostri potuimus præstare? Hã uerò S. M. T. benignitas sibi hauddquaquam satisfecit: adiecit enim præclarum præterea munus XX librarum, quibus pro corpusculi mei, sic fatigati senio, & morbo fracti, non tam consuetudine, quàm necessitate, hypocaustum pararem. Eo cum nunc per quàm commodè fouear, meritò Dominum oro, ut S. M. T. igni charitatis suæ, & fomẽte omnigenæ benignitatis suæ perpetuò calefaciat atq; confoueat: depulso ab ea omni frigore,

Matt. Bucerus, Paulus Fagius egregiæ memoriæ exules, quum ergo.

a sicut

Edward VI at the beginning of 1551, but in fact did not appear in print until 1557.[100] Bucer died shortly after finishing the treatise and was buried in St Mary's Church, Cambridge. After the accession of Queen Mary I, Bucer was posthumously condemned as a heretic. His remains were disinterred from their resting place and burnt.

Before becoming a printer, Joannes Oporinus (1507–1568) had been a professor of Classics. His scientific and theological imprints, including the *editio princeps* of Vesalius's *De humani corporis fabrica*, earned him a reputation as one of Basel's best printers. He attracted a wide variety of controversial authors, representing Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563) for example, in his dispute with Calvin over the execution of the Spanish Unitarian theologian, Michael Servetus (d. 1553). Oporinus also printed a controversial translation by Theodore Bibliander (1506–1564) of the Qur'an, for which he was briefly imprisoned.[101]

23 Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575). *A Most Excellent Sermon of the Lordes Supper.* London: William Ponsonby, [1580?].

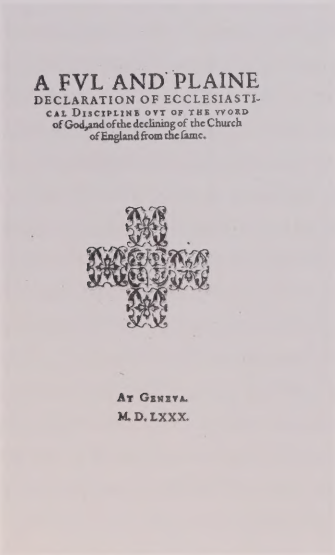
Heinrich Bullinger's legacy as Zwingli's heir at Zurich has long been undervalued, especially when compared with that of first-tier Reformers such as Luther and Calvin. His thoughts on the relationship between the church and state, and on the nature of the Eucharist are proving to have been particularly influential in the development of the Reformed tradition. Together with Calvin, he concluded the *Consensus Tigurinus* in 1549 in which the Churches of Geneva and Zurich acknowledged their basic agreement on Christology and the role of the sacraments, especially the symbolic character of the Lord's Supper as opposed to the Lutheran doctrine of the Substantial Presence. Together with the writings of Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli (1499–1562), Bullinger exerted significant influence over the evolution of certain aspects of Reformed thought in the Elizabethan Church, especially on the doctrine of the Eucharist.[102] Bullinger had begun a regular correspondence with Thomas Cranmer in 1536 through the mediation of Simon Grynaeus (1493–1541), Cranmer's oldest evangelical friend on the Continent.[103]

Bullinger's sermon on the Lord's Supper was probably the first title printed by William Ponsonby (ca. 1546–1604), who would later become famous for his association with Edmund Spenser and the publication of *The Faerie Queen*. Between 1571 and 1603 Ponsonby, considered among the most important publishers of the Elizabethan era, sold his books in St Paul's Churchyard. His earliest years in the trade were dedicated to the printing of political and religious tracts, with his literary publications appearing only after 1582.[104]

24 Walter Travers (1547 or 8–1635). *A Fvl and Plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline out of the VVord of God, and of the Declining of the Church of England from the Same.* Geneva: [s.n.], 1580.

Walter Travers is considered by many to be the father of English Presbyterianism. His deeply-held Puritan beliefs saw him expelled from Cambridge University by the High Church Vice-Chancellor John Whitgift (d. 1604), and so Travers left England for Geneva in 1570 to practise his faith in peace. It was there that he befriended Theodore Beza (1519–1605), one of Calvin's closest collaborators, and consolidated his thought. Four years later Travers published the first Latin edition of this text on church government, somewhat modelling his ideas on Calvin's own plea for a return to a primitive New Testament polity. To that end, he rejected the idea of bishops as overseers of the clergy as unbiblical, insisting that they were merely the same as pastors of congregations, and held that deacons were a type of elder rather than a separate clerical order. His text was translated into English by the Puritan Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603) who had also been deprived of his teaching post by Whitgift, and subsequently found safe haven in Geneva as well. The book was thrice published and each time subject to orders to seize and destroy.[105]

Returning to England in 1576, Travers was initially unable to find advancement at home owing to his Presbyterian sympathies. He then moved to the Low Countries where he was ordained a minister of the Merchant Adventurer Church of Antwerp according to Presbyterian rites without the presence of a bishop, a situation that would call his Orders into question later in his career. His neglect of the *Book of Common Prayer* during services contributed to his early


A FVL AND PLAINE
DECLARATION OF ECCLESIASTI-
CAL DISCIPLINE OVT OF THE VVORD
of God, and of the declining of the Church
of England from the same.

AT GENEVA.
M. D. LXXX.

return to England in 1580.[106] By that time, he enjoyed some significant, influential support from such luminaries as Sir Francis Walsingham (d. 1590) and Lord Burghley (1520–1598), eventually becoming tutor to Burghley's son, Robert Cecil (1563–1612). Ecclesiastical preferment even came his way when in 1581 he was appointed Deputy of the Presbyterian-leaning Temple Church in London. After his nemesis John Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, Travers once again found himself in a predicament with the appointment of Richard Hooker (1554–1600) as Master of the Temple Church. Hooker rejected many of Travers's extreme Puritan positions, and thus a confrontation was established between the two men that mirrored the tensions within the Church of England itself. After the 1587 publication of Travers's *The Book of Discipline* which advocated the adoption of Presbyterian liturgy and government in England, he was accused of attempting to undermine the sovereign's authority over the Church. He once again left England and, with the help of Lord Burghley, found refuge in Ireland where he served as Provost of Trinity College, Dublin until 1598. Returning to England, he never received another official post. It has been said that his lasting achievement was to irritate Richard Hooker sufficiently that he should write the highly influential Anglican classic, *Treatise on the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*.[107]

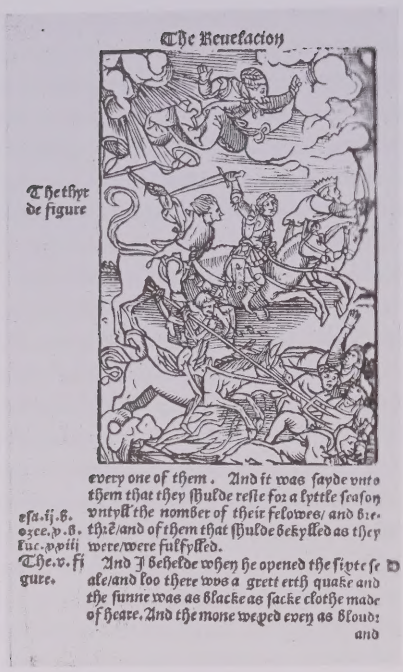
PART IV: THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

To say that the English Reformation did not proceed according to a single, straightforward narrative would be an understatement. Since the days of John Wycliffe in the fourteenth century an undercurrent of dissatisfaction had been present in certain corners of the English Church; most of the faithful, however, simply took the practices, pieties, and structures of the late medieval church for granted as part of the familiar and unchanging routine of life. When the break with Rome finally occurred, with the passage of the Act of Supremacy in November of 1534, an independent Church of England was constituted that was essentially conservative in nature, and neither Lutheran nor Reformed in character. The accession of Edward VI in 1547, while still in his minority, ensured that clerics and courtiers sympathetic to Continental Protestantism exerted much greater influence over the evolution of the Church's liturgy, doctrine, and customs. With the succession of his half-sister Mary I, however, England effectively returned to the Roman Catholic fold for the next five years until her death in 1558. The reign of her half-sister, Elizabeth I, saw the restoration of the Church of England but according to the Queen's pragmatic philosophy of the *via media*, a form of church polity that steered a middle course between Rome and Geneva. With each change in monarch, new and onerous challenges

were faced by the members of the print trade, many of which simply had to do with their ability to print freely.

The censorship of religious books in the English-speaking world can at the very least be traced back to Archbishop Thomas Arundel's *Constitutiones* of 1409. This piece of legislation was written in reaction to the threat posed by Wycliffe and his followers, the Lollards, and according to its seventh clause, the translation of any part of the Bible into English was strictly forbidden. Anyone found in violation of the clause was subject to excommunication, could be charged with heresy, and liable to be burnt alive in keeping with the edict *De heretico comburendo* issued by King Henry IV in 1401. Fear of the Lutheran heresy caused Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559), Bishop of London, to summon the local booksellers to St Paul's Churchyard on 12 October 1524 where he instructed them not to import books printed in Germany or to distribute any such books already in the city.[108] A first royal proclamation of banned books was subsequently issued by Henry VIII in 1529, and after the break with Rome, he entrusted literary censorship to the Court of Star Chamber (though the first book-related charges would not be heard by the Court until 1558). At the time of Edward VI's death in July of 1553 there were seventeen presses active in England; two months into the reign of his successor Mary I, only eight were left in operation, as Protestant printers fled to the relative safety of the Continent.[109] Elizabeth I eventually conferred many of the powers exercised by the Star Chamber upon the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, so that, in effect, no book could be published in the realm without their consent. The menace of 'evil' books was such that in the late sixteenth century it was observed that 'ten sermons at Paul's Cross do not so much good for moving men to true doctrine, as one of those books do harm, with enticing men to ill living.'[110]

In the latter years of the English Reformation, censorship increased with the accession of the Stuarts, especially under the direction of Archbishop William Laud (1573–1645). In 1637, in order to mitigate foreign influence in Britain, it was decreed that books could not be imported into the kingdom without a catalogue first being submitted either to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London.[111] The year 1643 then saw the passage of *The Ordinance for the Regulating of Printing* which instituted pre-publication censorship, and permitted the seizure and destruction of offensive literature – a practice that was already long-standing. Much of this was, of course, religious, reflective of the ongoing fracturing of Christianity both in the British Isles and across the Channel. Oliver Cromwell was no more tolerant than his Tudor and Stuart predecessors, and under his leadership, Parliament extended its censure to any publications that promoted the old Anglican episcopal structure. The stories behind these books reflect the vicissitudes of this tumultuous era.


The Reuelacion
The fyrſt figure
every one of them. And it was ſayde vnto them that they ſhulde reſte for a lyttle ſeaſon
eſa.lij.b. vntyll the nomber of their felowes/ and bre-
o.xce.p.b. thre/and of them that ſhulde be kylled as they
luc.xxiii were/were fulfylled.
The.v.ſſ And I beheldе when he opened the ſixte ſe
gure. ale/and loo there was a grett erth quake and
the ſunne was as blacke as ſacke clothe made
of heare. And the mone weped even as bloud:
and

25 *The Newe Testament Dylygently Corrected and Compared with the Greke.* Antwerp: Martin de Keyser, 1534.

By 1524, England was the only European country that did not have a printed vernacular edition of the Bible.[112] Still a Roman Catholic stronghold under Henry VIII, the only version of the Scriptures permitted in his realm was the Latin Vulgate translated by St Jerome (d. 420) some eleven hundred years earlier. In 1525 William Tyndale (d. 1536), priest and Humanist, moved to Cologne to produce the first New Testament printed in English – fragments of which are preserved at the British Museum.[113] Owing to civil and religious unrest, the project was interrupted, and so it was not until the following year that his translation was finished. The first octavo copies were printed at Worms with a second 'pirated' edition issued in a smaller format by Christoffel van Ruremund in Antwerp later in 1526.[114] His New Testament was smuggled into England where it was immediately denounced by the English bishops as well as the King and his counsellors, who feared the unsettling power of Lutheranism – Tyndale's prologues to the Epistles were chiefly based on Luther's[115] – and its challenge to legitimate authority. This edition of 1534 represents a revision of that earlier work. Together with the other Reformers of his day, Tyndale believed that the Bible had to be translated into the people's language and released from the allegorical interpretations so common in the medieval church. He recorded his objections to the scholastic treatment of Scripture in his preface to this edition, boldly writing that

> ...the kyngdome of heaven which is the Scripture and worde of God maybe so locked up that he which readeth or heareth it cannot understonde it; as Christ testifieth how that the Scribes and Pharises had to shut it up... that their Jewes which thought themselves within were yet so locked out and are to this daye that they can understande no sentence of the scripture unto their salvacion though they can reherse the textes everywhere and dispute thereof as sottelye as ye popysh doctoures of dunces darcke learnynge which with their sophistrye sarved us as ye Pharises did the Jewes.[116]

Tyndale also ran afoul of Henry by denouncing his divorce from Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536). In 1535, he was arrested in Antwerp where he was working on a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures. He was then taken to Brussels, and in the following year was strangled and his dead body then burned at the stake. Although all vernacular translations were initially opposed by the English Church, no version was as violently suppressed as was Tyndale's New Testament.[117] All such efforts notwithstanding, it is estimated that about nine-tenths of his translation survives in the King James Version of the Bible of 1611.

26 *Anno XXXII. Henrici Octaui, in the Parlyament begon at Westm[inster], the XXVIII. of Apryll, the XXXI. yere of the Reygne of the Moste Excellent, Moste Hygh, and Mooste Myghty Prynce Henry the Eyghte.* London, 1540.

This volume contains a collection of Acts passed by the Parliament of Westminster during the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry VIII, 1540. Not surprisingly, a great number of them deal with the Reformation of the English Church, of which Henry had become head after the passage of the Act of Supremacy. Among them are acts for the moderation of the punishment of incontinent priests and their mistresses; concerning the Commission that would deal with the abolition of erroneous opinions in religion; affecting the privileges of churches and churchyards; and dissolving the King's 'pretended' marriage to Anne of Cleves. Perhaps the most interesting, however, is the Act concerning the dissolution of the lands and goods belonging to the Hospitaller Knights of St John of Jerusalem of England and Ireland, with their proceeds appropriated into the royal coffers. The action was consistent with the general dissolution of the monasteries initiated by Henry and his Chancellor, Thomas Cromwell (1485–1540), in 1536.

Henry, who began his reign in 1509 enjoying amicable relations with the Hospitallers, was appointed the protector of their convent in Rhodes in 1511. It was his constant policy, however, to remind the membership that they were his subjects first and foremost, and so he regularly controlled their travel and interfered with their missions, even to the extent of drafting members to fight on his behalf during his wars in France and elsewhere.[118] The antipapal legislation that had passed through the English Parliament at Henry's behest between 1529 and 1536 took direct aim at religious groups with international operations, and thus had a deleterious effect on the operation of the Hospitallers, who still enjoyed papal protection.[119] As the Act states,

> The knightes of sainct Johns ... have unnaturally, and contrary to the dutie of their allegiaunces, sustained and maynteined the usurped power and auctoritee of the byshop of Rome, lately used and practised within this realme, and other the kynges dominions, and have not onely adhered themselves to the saied byshop, being common ennemy to the kyng our soveraine lorde, and to this his realme, untruely upholdyng, knowlagyng, and affirmyng maliciously and traiterously, the same byshop to be supreme & chief head of Christes churche by Gods holy worde ...

Nevertheless, many of the members of the Order continued in their ancient loyalty to the See of Rome, and several are counted as Catholic martyrs. That the Knights avoided dissolution at the beginning of Cromwell's campaign four years earlier may have been owing to the fact that the English Prior at the time, William Weston, publicly supported Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, took the Oath of Succession, and gave many gifts to the Lord Chancellor himself. Nevertheless, the Hospitallers saw their possessions gradually alienated, finally culminating in this Act which was sent by the Lords to the Commons on 1 May 1540, and passed within a week. Weston was given a pension of £1000 per annum, though he actually died on the very day of the dissolution and saw not a penny. The Order's London priory was subsequently converted into a storehouse, the church partially demolished, and the bell tower blown up for stone.[120]

27 *The Byble in Englyshe of the Largest and Greatest Volume.* **London: Edward Whitchurch, 1541 [i.e. 1540].**

In 1538, Thomas Cromwell commanded that every parish church should have a large copy of the English Bible available for reading and consultation by the clergy and laity alike. The result was a mas-

The Byble in
Englyshe of the largest and grea-
test volume, auctorysed and apoynted
by the commaundemente of ouer moost
redoubted Prynce, and Soueraygne Lorde
Kynge Henrye the. viii. Supreme heade
of the fyrst and chefe Church or Congregacion of
Englande: ye frequented and
vsed in many ouer the londes and
Landes vnder, accordynge to the
tongue of the seuerall Pa-
rysshens geuen vn
to the people.
Ouerlene and perused at the co-
maundement of the kynges highnes,
by the ryghte reuerende fathers in God
Cuthbert bysshop of Duresme, and Ely-
ottes bysshop of Rochester.
Prynted by Edwarde Whytchurch.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.
1541.

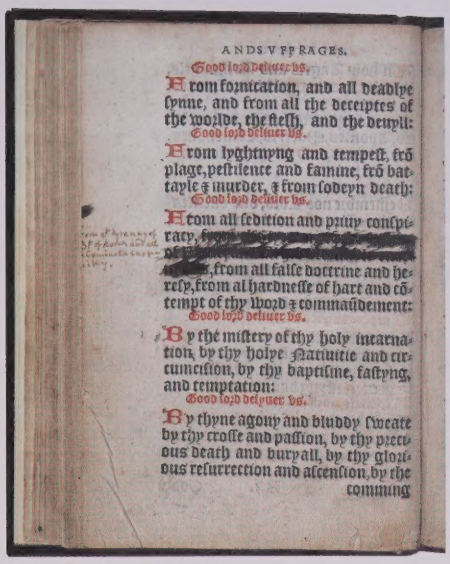
sive tome, better known as 'The Great Bible.' The iconic title page to this, the first formally authorized copy of the English Scriptures in history, boasts that it was 'truly translated after the veryte of the Hebrue and Greke textes, by ye dylygent studye of Dyuerse excellent learned men, expert in the forsayde tonges.' The pride in the endeavour, however, is best expressed in the Holbeinesque woodcuts that adorn the illustrated title page depicting Henry VIII, now replacing the pope as intermediary, distributing the English Bible to his enraptured subjects through the auspices of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer and the soon-to-be disgraced Cromwell. God himself appears stooped in a small cameo above the King's head, almost unnoticed, while the common folk listen to the divine word being read to them – rather than reading it for themselves – highlighting the essentially conservative nature of Henry's plan for the Reformation in England.[121] Myles Coverdale (1488–1569) was the scholar entrusted with the task of editing this 'new' version in a way that would be acceptable to the increasingly conservative tastes of the

time. Thus, it is effectively a recension of John Rogers's revision of Tyndale's original translation.[122]

The printing of the first edition of 1539 was actually begun in France owing in part to the perception that French printing houses still possessed greater skill, combined with the fact that no English printer yet operated a press large enough for the required paper size.[123] The decision to print on the Continent also coincided with the reality that there were many conservatives in England, especially within the episcopate, who were sufficiently opposed to the venture that they would have happily disrupted its course at home.[124] Work on the project was brought to a halt in Paris when the French Inquisitor General, Matthew Ory, issued an order against corrupt translations, with the original French printer, François Regnault, personally cited. Coverdale and the publishers, Edward Whitchurch (d. 1561) and Richard Grafton (d. 1573), left for London, having shipped almost eight tons of recently-printed sheets ahead of them, while about five tons were left behind in France. The English purchased some of Regnault's equipment in order to continue the work back in London, and managed to retrieve marked-up printer's copy for the confiscated sheets as well as those not yet printed.[125] Displayed is the fourth revised edition, noteworthy for the fact that, while Cromwell's image remained intact on the title page, his coat of arms had been expunged after his execution for heresy on 28 July 1540. The colophon to this volume is dated November of 1540, indicating that the famous title page was likely printed at the beginning of the following year.

28 Church of England. *The Primer, set furth by the Kinges Maiestie & his Clergie, to be Taught, Lerued [sic] and Red.* London: Richard Grafton, 1546.

Towards the end of his reign, Henry VIII recognized that the English Church needed to have an official liturgy in the vernacular, but he was loath to see any dramatic break with tradition, especially of the sort evident in the new liturgies emerging from the Reformed Churches of Geneva and Zurich. To that end, in 1545 he issued an authorized *Primer* to supplant the wide variety of alternative liturgical books that had been in circulation since the 1530s. Primers had long been staples of late medieval devotion, incorporating Psalms, prayers, and the lives of saints for use in the home as well as church. Both Protestants and Catholics appreciated their popularity with the faithful and wished to see them modified to meet the changing needs of the times.[126] As the preface to the book explains, the drafting of Henry's new liturgy was undertaken 'for the avoiding of the diversity of primer books that are now abroad, whereof are almost innumerable sorts ... and to have one uniform order of all



ANDS VFFRAGES.

Good lord deliuer vs.

From fornication, and all deadlye synne, and from all the deceiptes of the worlde, the flesh, and the deuyll:

Good lord deliuer vs.

From lyghtnyng and tempest, frō plage, pestilence and famine, frō battayle & murder, & from sodeyn death:

Good lord deliuer vs.

From all sedition and privy conspiracy, [redacted]

[redacted], from all false doctrine and heresy, from al hardnesse of hart and cōtempt of thy word & commaundement:

Good lord deliuer vs.

By the mistery of thy holy incarnation, by thy holye Natiuitie and circumcision, by thy baptisme, fastyng, and temptation:

Good lord deliuer vs.

By thyne agony and bludy sweate by thy crosse and passion, by thy precious death and buryall, by thy glorious resurrection and ascension, by the comming

such books throughout all our dominions.' *The Primer*, therefore, aimed at standardizing worship throughout the kingdom during one of its most tumultuous periods and, in many ways it served as precursor to the first Book of Common Prayer that would not appear until 1549 during the reign of Henry's son, Edward VI (1537–1553). By the end of 1546, *The Primer* had already gone through ten editions.[127] It drew upon a variety of sources including medieval Books of Hours, George Joye's *Hortulus animæ*, as well as Lutheran liturgies, and in the process became a vehicle for introducing the theology of the Continental Reformation into the practice of the English church, while maintaining a balance with its Catholic past.[128] It provided the basis for what would become the revised offices of Mattins and Evensong with the translations of the New Testament Canticles, the *Te Deum*, and the burial service, all revised and ready to assume the form they would take in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer; the choice of appointed Psalms was amended; liturgical antiphons were drawn from the Beatitudes; and devotions to the Blessed Virgin were omitted while the English translation of prayers by Erasmus and Juan Luis Vives were introduced. The revised Litany, which was included in the 1549 Book of Common Prayer, includes the prayer 'for deliverance from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome', presumably censored in the Fisher copy during the reign of Elizabeth I when that petition was officially expunged from the liturgy. The royal primers thus became a Reformation expression of the old adage *lex orandi lex credendi* or 'the law of praying is the law of believing.' After its appearance, all other primers were to be withdrawn from sale and their use suspended.[129]

The printer, Richard Grafton, was a Reformer who enjoyed the

patronage of Archbishop Cranmer. He had previously been involved in the printing of the Matthew Bible of 1537 as well as the Great Bible of 1539. Together with his business partner Edward Whitchurch, the pair was issued letters patent on 27 January 1543 granting them the sole and lucrative right to publish church service books.[130] Under Edward VI, that patent was renewed and issued simultaneously with one promoting Grafton from Prince's Printer to King's Printer of vernacular books on 20 April 1547, sealed and delivered two days later.[131]

29 Hermann von Wied (1477–1552). *A Simple, and Religious Consultation of vs Herman by the Grace of God Archebishop of Colone, and Prince Electour.* London: John Day, 1547.

The sympathies of Hermann von Wied, Prince Elector and Archbishop of Cologne, aligned more closely with those of Luther rather than with his Emperor, Charles V. His greatest legacy, however, would not be found in the Germanic territories but in England owing to this publication which had a direct influence on the crafting of the Book of Common Prayer by Archbishop Cranmer. Impatient with the pace of reform initiated by Rome, von Wied invited Bucer, Melanchthon, Johannes Pistorius the Elder (1504–1583), and Caspar Hedio (1494–1552) to introduce the Reformation at Cologne in 1542, the first result of which was the publication of the *Einfaltigs Bedencken* two years later, essentially the source text for the *Simple, and Religious Consultation*.[132] The Archbishop himself soon embraced their ideas, including communion in both kinds, the use of the vernacular in worship, and a ban on religious images, while retaining the celebration of seven, rather than two sacraments observed by the Reformers. Von Wied, however, was politically limited in his own diocese, and his reforms there were consequently hampered. As both Elector and Archbishop, he had to walk a fine line between demonstrating his loyalty to the Emperor while simultaneously currying the favour of neighbouring Protestant princes, a situation that in the end was untenable. The conservative theological faculty at Cologne University absolutely rejected what Luther considered the Archbishop's half-hearted attempts at reform, while the majority of his Cathedral chapter opposed von Wied's efforts as well.[133] In 1546, he was finally deposed from his See and excommunicated.[134]

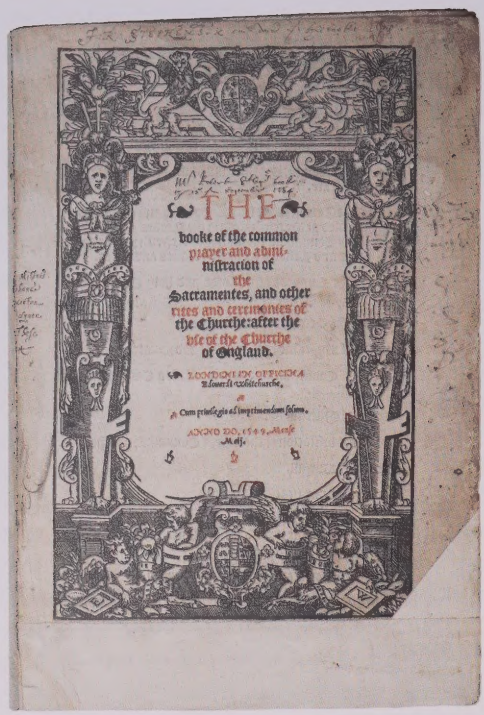
Cranmer accessed von Wied's text from a slightly later Latin translation entitled *Pia et simplex deliberatio* and interest in the work was sufficient for John Day to publish this anonymous English translation from the Latin on 30 October 1547. Its influence over the Book of Common Prayer is particularly evident in the Communion Service

with the exhortations, confession and absolution, Comfortable Words, and the sentence for the administration of the Sacrament to the faithful lifted almost in their entirety from von Wied's text.[135] The reason for this plagiarism may have been simple expediency: in 1546, Henry VIII had instructed Cranmer to devise a new form of Communion quickly. The *Consultation*, which had recently been acquired by the Archbishop, provided him with an elegant model from the Reformed world to follow. Cranmer's new formulary for Baptism is similarly rooted in this book as well, since Bucer had drawn upon Luther's *Taufbüchlein* for the revision of the rite found in von Wied's text.

The printer, John Day (d. 1584), was a committed evangelical who established his reputation by being among the first to issue patently Protestant texts after the accession of King Edward VI in 1547. Among his publications may be found the writings of John Hooper and Hugh Latimer as well as such Continental theologians as John Calvin. After a period of clandestine printing during the reign of Queen Mary, Day emerged during the reign of her successor Elizabeth I to reclaim his position among the foremost Protestant printers in this era.[136] Day, who would print the first four editions of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* between 1563 and 1583, was well-known for his neatly printed octavo books, and this one is no exception. Its smaller format as a pocketbook suggests its devotional use in the period just before the first printing of the Book of Common Prayer in 1549.

30 Church of England. *The Booke of the Common Prayer and Administracion of the Sacramentes.* London: Edward Whitchurch, 1549.

Together with the King James Version of the Bible (1611), the Book of Common Prayer is one of the greatest religious literary treasures of English Renaissance literature. The history of the Prayer Book is one of dynamic tension. A committee of twelve clerics, under the direction of Thomas Cranmer, shaped the new liturgy by trying to establish a balance in public worship between the familiarity and comfort of traditional Catholic ceremonial (especially as preserved in the ancient Sarum Rite) with the newly reformed Continental forms of worship.[137] The committee first met in September of 1548 and had a text ready for publication by January of the following year. On 21 January, Parliament passed the Act of Uniformity, making use of the new prayer book mandatory throughout the realm beginning on Pentecost Sunday (9 June) of 1549.[138] The first edition, which appeared the previous March, two years into the reign of the twelve-year-old King Edward VI, was relatively Catholic in temperament (though with a drastically altered liturgical calendar), featuring Col-


THE
booke of the common
prayer and adminis-
tracion of
the
Sacramentes, and other
rites and ceremonies of
the Churche: after the
vse of the Churche
of Englande.
Cum priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.
ANNO DO. 1549. Mense
Martij.

lects believed to have been personally written by Cranmer himself. The term 'Mass' was still permitted for the Eucharist, and the designations 'priest' and 'altar', as well as prayers for the dead, were kept. A rationale for what was changed and what was not could be found towards the end of the book in a section entitled 'Of Ceremonies: Why some be abolished and some retayned.' Nevertheless, it was not received with enthusiasm everywhere. One petition from Devon dated 10 June 1549 reads in part:

> We demand the restoration of the Mass in Latin without any to communicate, and the Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament: Communion in one kind, and only at Easter: greater facilities for Baptism: the restoration of the old ceremonies – Holy bread and Holy water, Images, Palms, and Ashes. We will not receive the new service, because it is but like a Christmas game; but we will have our old service of Matins, Mass, Evensong and processions in Latin, not in English.

The imposition of the new liturgy proceeded apace, all protests notwithstanding. The first three editions of the 1549 Prayer Book were made in London by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, the men who had previously been responsible for issuing such publi-

cations as the Matthew Bible of 1537, the Coverdale diglot of 1538, and the Great Bible of 1539. All told, the new Prayer Book would actually see twelve editions in its first year. Towards the end of Edward's reign, the Second Prayer Book of 1552 appeared, reflecting the influence of the more extreme Calvinist party over the young King's court.[139]

The Fisher copy is the fourth edition, printed on 4 May, and includes sheets printed by Nicholas Hill for Whitchurch.[140] It originally belonged to the St Leger family of Leeds Castle in Kent. From its size it may be inferred that it was originally intended for clerical use in the chancel rather than private devotion. Among the many inscriptions in the book may be found one for 'Anthony Saintleger Knighte of the Noble Order [of] the Garter' who married the niece and heir of William Warham (d. 1532), the last pre-Reformation Archbishop of Canterbury. St Leger served Thomas Cromwell and was involved in the dissolution of the monasteries, receiving the priory of East Bilsington, as well as other property in Kent on 8 July 1540 as a reward for services rendered. He was also appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland six times during his lengthy career and in 1551 was given the unenviable task of imposing the new English prayer book on the Irish. Two years later he was ordered to reverse course and restore the Catholic faith after Queen Mary's succession. He had in fact supported Mary's claim to the throne over that of her rival, the Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554). His own religious preferences are unclear, however, since St Leger wrote his last will and testament using a Catholic formula on 27 October 1558, three weeks before the accession of Queen Elizabeth.[141] The Fisher copy also contains the autograph and motto of the mathematician Thomas Digges (d. 1595), St Leger's grandson-in-law, the first Englishman to declare his support for the cosmological theories of Copernicus.[142]

The Book of Common Prayer is one of the most resiliently popular books of English religious literature. Between 1549 and 1640 it saw 350 separate editions, and between 1641 and 1700 there were another 230. All told, there have been about five thousand editions and impressions in the course of its long history.[143] It has been both an agent of change as well as a focus for devotional anger. With the possible exception of the King James Bible, no other book has had so direct an effect on the development of the English language with expressions such as 'dust to dust', 'whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder', and 'devices and desires' firmly embedded in Anglo-Saxon consciousness. Whereas the Lutheran identity was grounded in the Augsburg Confession, and the Reformed tradition in the works of the theologian, John Calvin, for more than four centuries the Anglican character was formed by the Prayer Book. As Diarmaid MacCullough notes, for the majority of the English who worshipped using this liturgy 'they were actors week by week in a drama whose cast included and united most of the nation, and

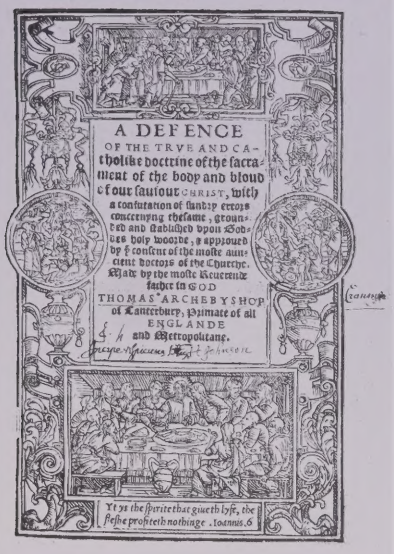
which therefore was a much more significant play, and more culturally central, than anything by Shakespeare.'[144]

31 Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556). *A Defence of the True and Catholike Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Bloud of our Sauiour Christ.* London: Reginald Wolfe, 1550.

In this book, the first full-length publication to bear its illustrious author's name, Archbishop Cranmer provides an apologia for what amounts to a reformed doctrine of the Eucharist for the Church of England. His thesis, that the Eucharist is effectively a memorial of Christ's last supper, is far closer to the teachings of Zwingli, Bucer, and Oecolampadius than it is to Luther who had defended the doctrine of the True Presence. Despite the progress of the Reformation in England over the previous fifteen years, Cranmer's theological position was still at odds with the one held by many English laity and clergy, especially his great rival, Stephen Gardiner (d. 1555), the Bishop of Winchester, who clung to the doctrine of the True Presence as explained through the process of transubstantiation. In this book, Cranmer also takes aim at other Catholic dogma and pious practices, such as the recitation of the rosary, indulgences, and pilgrimages; but the root of all of these errors he claims is to be found in the teaching about transubstantiation itself.

The work is divided into five parts: an exposition of the ancient practice and theology of the Eucharist, particularly as expressed in the Church Fathers; the errors associated with the medieval application of transubstantiation to the Sacrament; an explanation of Christ's presence in the Sacrament; how the faithful are to eat and drink the sacred elements; and finally, the one oblation of Christ, once offered, in contradistinction to the Catholic doctrine of the perpetual sacrifice of the Mass. His words published herein were ultimately used against him during his trial for heresy which began in 1554, one year into the reign of England's new Catholic Queen, Mary I. That particular ordeal did not represent the archbishop's finest hour. Among other things, Cranmer, under pressure, recanted his association with the teachings of Zwingli and Luther, and embraced both transubstantiation and papal supremacy as Catholic truth. In spite of the fact that a heretic who has repudiated his error should, both by law and custom, have been spared the ultimate penalty, Mary decided to make an example of the former archbishop who had presided over the dissolution of her parents' marriage. He was burned at the stake on 21 March 1556.

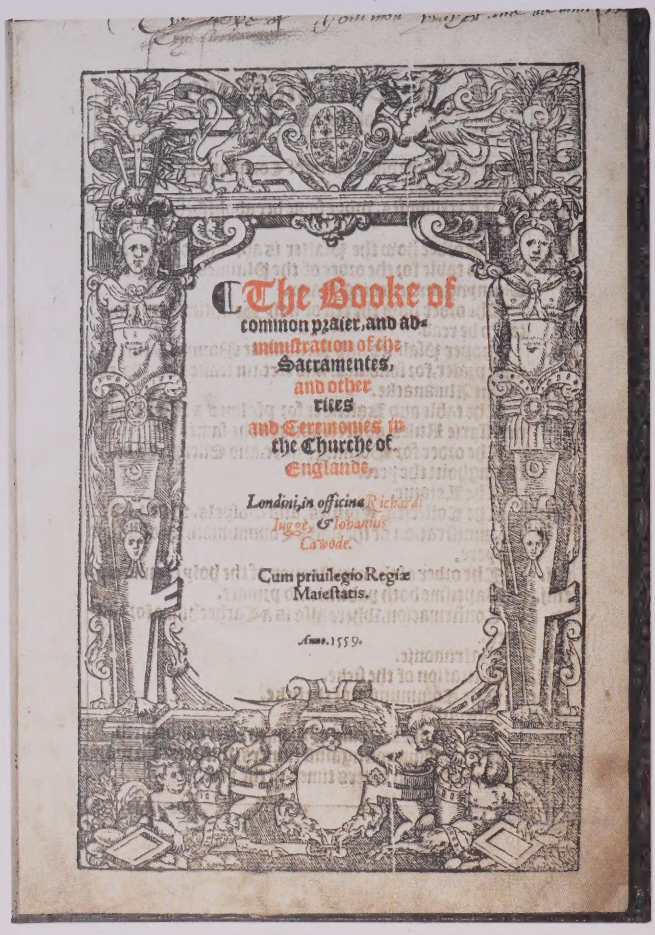
According to the martyrologist John Foxe, Cranmer's last words before going to his death referred back to this very book. 'As for the sacrament', he declared, 'I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth so


A DEFENCE
OF THE TRVE AND CA-
tholike doctrine of the sacra-
ment of the body and blood
of our sauiour CHRIST, with
a confutation of sundry errors
concerning the same, groun-
ded and stablished vpon God-
des holy worde, & approued
by the consent of the moste aun-
cient doctors of the Churche.
Made by the moste Reuerende
father in GOD
THOMAS ARCHEBYSHOP
of Canterbury, Primate of all
ENGLANDE
and Metropolitane.
Cranmer
Yet is the spirite that quyckeneth, the
flesshe profiteth nothinge. Ioannis. 6

true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to show her face.' Indeed, Cranmer's legacy remains principally a literary one with the foundational documents of the Church of England all either a result of his own composition or imprimatur, of which the Great Bible, the Books of Common Prayer of 1549 and 1552 (with his magnificently written Collects), and the Articles of Religion stand out most prominently. Reginald (or Reyner) Wolfe (d. 1573), was Archbishop Cranmer's preferred printer, responsible for seeing three editions of this text through the presses. Though a devout Protestant, he survived Queen Mary's reign, and was one of the original members of the Stationers' Company, of which he served as Master four different times.

32 Church of England. *The Booke of Common Praier, and Administration of the Sacramentes, and other Rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of England.* London: Richard Jugge and John Cawood, 1559.

King Edward VI's Prayer Book was suppressed with the succession of the Roman Catholic Queen Mary I, but when her half-sister Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558, she restored its use with revisions that attempted to strike a balance between the sensibilities of her Catholic and Protestant subjects. Her 1559 Prayer Book, for example, omitted prayers against the 'tyranny' and 'detestable enormities' of the Bishop of Rome, as well as the so-called 'black rubric' which, in the 1552 Prayer Book, had been included to explain that



kneeling to receive the Sacrament did not express any idolatrous veneration of the elements of bread and wine. It introduced the two conjoined formulas for the administration of Holy Communion: the first set of words alluding to the presence of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine, acceptable to her Catholic subjects, and a second set that framed the Sacrament as simply a memorial, satisfactory to her Calvinist subjects.

The book, whose authority was enforced by the Act of Uniformity of 1559, was nevertheless, contentious. The Act was passed by Parliament, in spite of the fact that the bishops, who were survivors from the reign of Queen Mary, voted against it *en bloc*. This revised liturgy remained in use until the English Civil War when it was formally banned by the Long Parliament on 3 January 1645. It was, of course, surreptitiously used by many royalist families for private worship during the years of the conflict, and some copies even appeared with false imprints to help printers avoid prosecution.

After the death of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell in 1658, the reprinting of the Prayer Book slowly recovered, and in 1660, the year of the Restoration, nine separate issues appeared, with three more printings in 1661.[145]

This 1559 copy is the third edition of the first Elizabethan Prayer Book, but the first to include all of the revisions required by Act of Uniformity, as well as those amendments reflecting the accession of a female monarch. Although they were not issued together, the Fisher copy is somewhat unusual since it is bound with the Ordinal, the collection of liturgies used by members of the episcopacy for the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons. While the last revised Edwardian BCP of 1552 published the Ordinal together with the prayer book, this practice was discontinued in the first Elizabethan editions to appear at the end of the decade. The majority of this particular edition was printed by Richard Jugge (d. 1577), with a lesser contribution by John Cawood (1514–1572), who had been appointed Queen's Printer early in the reign of Mary I. Under her authority, Cawood had been responsible, among other things, for the seizure of prohibited Protestant books. He clearly survived his association with the Catholic court, and continued as royal printer, together with Jugge, after Elizabeth's accession. In addition to these men, the text also shows evidence of the participation of two more London printers, Owen Rogers and Richard Payne.[146]

33 John Jewel (1522–1571). *An Apologie or Answere in Defence of the Churche of Englande.* London: Reginald Wolfe, 1564.

With the accession of Elizabeth I, John Jewel was chosen to replace the unconsecrated Catholic Bishop of Salisbury, Francis Mallet (d. 1570). Jewel is better known, however, as an apologist for the Church of England, first defending it against Catholic authors who rejected the Edwardian and Elizabethan reforms, and later against the Puritan party which felt that the Established Church was not sufficiently Protestant. Unlike Luther, who had largely based his criticism of the medieval church on the witness of Scripture, Jewel expanded his critique, based on the authority of the Fathers and early councils of the church. In 1562 he published his *magnum opus*, the *Apologia ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, as a justification for the apostolicity and authenticity of the new church. In that same year, it was translated into English under the auspices of Archbishop Matthew Parker (1504–1575), with this improved 1564 edition translated by Lady Anne Bacon (d. 1610), the mother of Sir Francis Bacon.[147] The book was immediately recognized as an important contribution to the field of Anglican apologetics, and provoked a response from the recusant Thomas Harding in *A Confutation of a Booke intituled An*

Apologie of the Church of England, also in this exhibition.

The printer, Reyner or Reginald Wolfe (d. ca. 1574) was a Dutch reformer who had come to the attention of Thomas Cranmer through their mutual friend, the scholar Simon Grynaeus. Cranmer invited Wolfe to immigrate to England about the year 1533, and his printing operations thrived throughout the reign of Edward VI. After Mary acceded to the throne, his printing activities declined substantially, and he devoted his attentions to Cranmer's sons, who had become orphaned after the prelate's execution in 1556. During Elizabeth I's reign he again found favour among the learned classes, and his typography for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew works was particularly in demand.[148]

CASE V: SCOTTISH REFORMATION

The first Scottish printing press was established in Edinburgh in 1507–1508 by Andrew Myllar (who had learned his trade in Rouen) and Walter Chepman. Only a very few texts were actually issued by the pair before they disappeared from history, after which Scottish authors once again had to avail themselves of the services of Continental or English printers. Among these was John Knox, who published his first polemical works while an exile in Calvin's Geneva. The Reformation was formally inaugurated in Scotland in 1560 (the year before Mary, Queen of Scots returned from her sojourn in France) when Parliament adopted a Protestant confession of faith and rejected the supremacy of the papacy. The following years saw a proliferation of pamphlets, treatises, and sermons that were quickly and cheaply printed, finding their way easily into the hands of the Scottish populace. Among the printers who benefited from this religious revolution was Robert Lekprevik (fl. 1561–1581) whose business grew rapidly owing to his early support of the cause of reform. By 1564 he began moving away from printing in black letter, and as a result, clear roman type became one of the hallmarks of Scottish Calvinist texts.[149] The contrast between early books such as his and the controversial Book of Common Prayer, printed in 1637 at Edinburgh in the old-style gothic, could not have been more striking to the reading public. By 1570, most towns had established Protestant-controlled grammar schools which stimulated the printing of textbooks, often written by local school masters and issued by local presses.[150] Between 1560 and 1643, when the *Solemn League and Covenant* appeared, almost eleven hundred publications were issued by presses in Edinburgh, St Andrews, Stirling, Aberdeen, and Glasgow, of which about thirty-seven per cent were clearly religious in character.

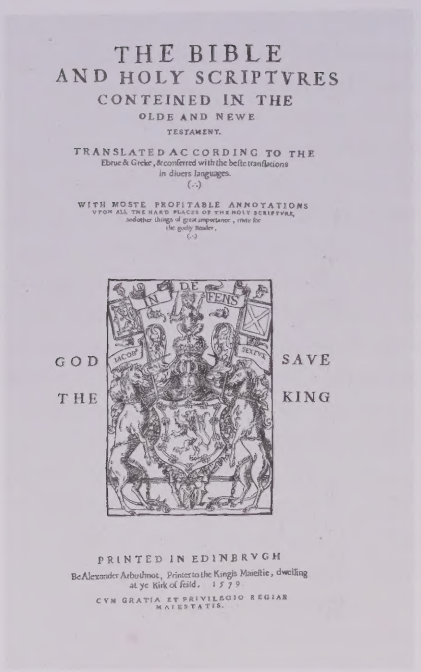
34 John Knox (ca. 1514–1572). *An Answer to a Great Nomber of Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist.* Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1560.

The year 1560 not only saw the formal inauguration of the Reformation in Scotland, but also the publication of this book as well as the complete Geneva Bible. John Knox was both the great apostle of the Scottish Reformation and one of the foremost enemies of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587). In 1558, while living in Geneva, he incurred the wrath of Elizabeth I when he published *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Though ostensibly directed against her cousin Mary, Elizabeth was deeply offended by the political misogyny of the book which in turn coloured her perception of the Continental Reformers in general and Calvin and his associates in particular. As a result, Knox for a time earned Calvin's displeasure as well as Elizabeth's.

Like *First Blast*, the *Answer to a Great Nomber of Blasphemous Cavillations* was a response to what Knox perceived to be the immediate needs of the moment, in this case the defence of the doctrine of predestination from an Anabaptist attack found in a treatise entitled *Careless by Necessity* (ca. 1557).[151] Knox's book came to be popularly known as 'On Predestination', and while more theological than polemical in character, it still lacked Calvin's nuance. Critics have long considered it hyper-Calvinistic in tone and argument. Knox's strong emphasis on the controversial doctrine is intrinsically linked to the specific era in which the work was prepared, as the Reformer struggled with theological purity and a 'small-flock' concept of the church in the years immediately preceding the adoption of the Reformation in his home country. Permission to print the work was granted in Geneva on 13 November 1559, six months after Knox had returned to Scotland, and some nine months before the Reformation Parliament severed the country's ties with Rome. After the debacle with Queen Elizabeth, Jean Crespin wisely agreed to publish the text, but only after receiving assurances from the Genevan Elders that there was nothing unorthodox or impolitic expressed therein.[152]

35 *The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament.* Edinburgh: Alexander Arbuthnot, 1579.

As early as 1568, Robert Lekpreuik had been granted a licence to print the Bible in Scotland, but it is this reissue of the 1562 second edition of the Geneva that actually holds the honour of first English-language Bible printed in the country. To underwrite its publication, the General Assembly ordered every parish in Scotland to pay £4 13s. 4p. towards its production. In the same year that it appeared,


THE BIBLE
AND HOLY SCRIPTVRES
CONTEINED IN THE
OLDE AND NEWE
TESTAMENT.
TRANSLATED ACCORDING TO THE
Ebrue & Greke, & conferred with the beste translations
in diuers languages.
(..)
WITH MOSTE PROFITABLE ANNOTATIONS
VPON ALL THE HARD PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTVRE,
and other things of great importance, moste fit for
the godly Reader.
(..)
GOD SAVE
THE KING
PRINTED IN EDINBRVGH
BeAlexander Arbuthnot, Printer to the Kings Maiestie, dwelling
at ye Kirk of Field. 1579.
CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO REGIAE
MAIESTATIS.

the Geneva was officially designated the authorized Bible of the kingdom by the Scots Parliament, which also required every substantial householder worth 300 merks of yearly rent and every yeoman worth £500 to purchase a copy. The penalty for non-compliance was £10.[153] As the title page to the New Testament indicates, the printing was actually begun by Thomas Bassandyne (d. 1577) in 1576, but was completed by his associate, Alexander Arbuthnot (d. 1585), three years later.

The first edition of the 'Geneva' had appeared in 1560, the first complete English Bible printed in roman type. Like the New Testament that preceded it by three years, it was translated by a small group of Marian exiles living in Geneva, including Myles Coverdale and Anthony Gilby (d. 1585), working under the direction of William Whittingham (d. 1579). It is also noteworthy for being the first complete English Bible to feature chapter and verse divisions, chapter headings, as well as running titles.[154] In short, it is this format of the Bible that established what the Scriptures would look like in the English-speaking world.[155] While it never achieved a status in England similar to Scotland, it was the *de facto* Bible of Elizabethan society as well. Its marginalia and explanatory notes were distinctly Calvinist in tone, especially endearing it to Presbyterians and Puritans, but setting it at odds with the Scottish King James VI who took particular exception to the note explaining the decision of the Hebrew women to save their male children in contravention of the express wishes of Pharaoh himself in Exodus 1:17. 'Their disobedi-

ence herein was lawful' the note reads, 'but their dissembling evil.' For James, who would combine the thrones of Scotland and England in himself after his succession to Elizabeth I in 1603, the divine right of kings never permitted such disobedience, even if the king were Pharaoh and the child were Moses.

For at least four generations the Geneva Bible maintained its supremacy as the Bible of the people with at least 140 editions appearing between 1560 and 1644;[156] indeed, about half a million Geneva Bibles were printed and sold between 1560 and 1620 alone.[157] An examination of the King James Bible of 1611, printed to replace it, shows that its translators were influenced more by the Geneva than by any other English version with the possible exception of Tyndale. There is little doubt that its regular proclamation from the pulpit combined with private reading by the *pater familias* at the hearthside, to advance both the cause of the Reformation in Scotland as well as literacy, and contributed significantly to what Christopher Hill calls 'the spiritualization of the household.'[158]

On loan from the library of Eric Robertson.

36 *Book of Common Order.* Middelburg: Richard Schilders, 1594.

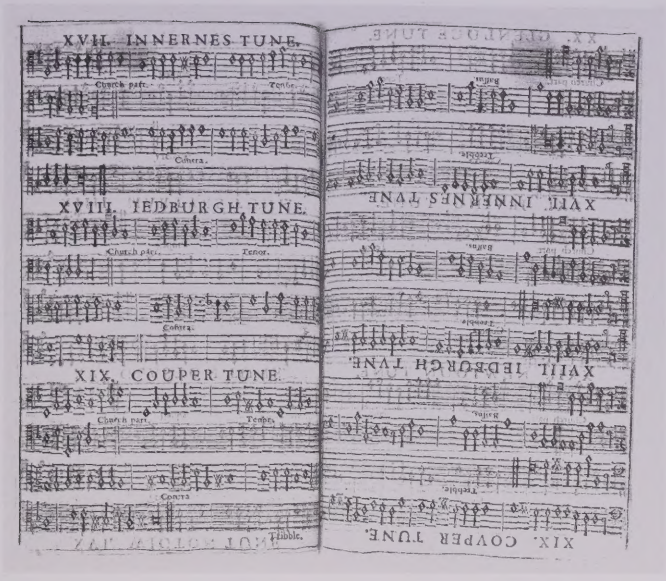
The text of the *Book of Common Order* represents the authorized version of worship in the Church of Scotland used from the time of its Reformation until 1645 when it was superseded by the 'Westminster Directory for Public Worship'. Its origins are to be found in factional tensions among the group of Marian exiles who had originally made Frankfurt their home. Some of these adhered to the Book of Common Prayer of Edward VI while others, including John Knox, preferred to follow the liturgical reforms initiated by John Calvin. This disagreement among otherwise likeminded Protestants contributed to the decision made by one group, including Knox, to leave Frankfurt for Geneva where the first edition of *The Forme of Prayers and Ministration of the Sacraments* was published, with Calvin's approval, by Jean Crespin in 1556. It is unclear whether the book was used in Scotland before Knox's return in 1559, but it certainly found favour almost immediately afterwards. By 1564 a completely revised version was prepared for use in Scotland, and it was directed 'that every Minister, Exhorter, and Reader, sall have ane of the Psalme Bookes latelie printed in Edinburgh, and use the Order contained therein in Prayers, Marriage, and Ministration of the Sacraments.'[159] In spite of the fact that *The Book of Common Order* was more a manual for the construction of liturgies rather than a formal template for worship, by the mid-seventeenth century it had begun to fall from favour among the Presbyterian divines who preferred a

freer hand while conducting church services. King James VI had lamented this tendency long before it became common, noting that 'there is lacking in our church a form of divine worship; and while every minister is left to the framing of publick prayer by himself, both the people are neglected and their prayers prove often impertinent.'[160] The politically astute James stopped short of imposing the unpopular Book of Common Prayer on his kingdom, even after he ascended the English throne, a foolhardy act that his son, Charles I (1600–1649), eventually did attempt.

The Fisher copy was the work of Richard Schilders (d. 1634), a religious refugee who had fled to London in 1567 in the wake of the Dutch Revolt against the Habsburgs that had begun the previous year. Schilders returned to the Netherlands in 1580, after his home state declared its independence from the Spanish crown, and was appointed 'Printer to the States of Zeeland', settling in the city of Middelburg. When the members of London's Puritan community were deprived of the services of Robert Waldegrave (d. 1604), whose press had been destroyed by order of the Star Chamber in 1588, they turned to Schilders for their printing needs.[161] It may actually be the case that the editions of the *Book of Common Order* that Schilders printed in Middelburg between 1580 and 1616 were actually issued for and imported by Waldegrave himself, who did not possess the musical type necessary for the printing of the metrical Psalms that form such a prominent feature of these service books. Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that the Scoto-Danish arms that appear on the title page of this book (as well as in the 1602 edition) were also used on a number of books that Waldegrave himself printed in Edinburgh during the years of his exile there.[162]

37 *The Psalmes of David in Prose and Meeter, with their whole Tunes in foure or mo Parts.* Edinburgh: The Heirs of Andrew Hart, 1635.

In the early days of the Scottish Reformation, polyphonic singing was deemed papist in character, and largely disappeared from services in churches and chapels. For that reason the earliest collections of the metrical Psalms, intended for congregational use, provided tunes without harmonies. It was not until 1625 that the Aberdeen Psalter appeared with harmonization for fifteen of the Psalms. This 1635 edition is arguably the greatest of the early Scottish Psalters owing to its full harmonization throughout, with rests provided for the persons singing the melody, allowing other vocal parts to enter in a staggered manner. The *mise-en-page* is also interesting, since opposite pages are printed upside down, allowing the singers of the various parts to share a single book, reading their respective lines from both sides of the table on which the psalter rested.[163] The

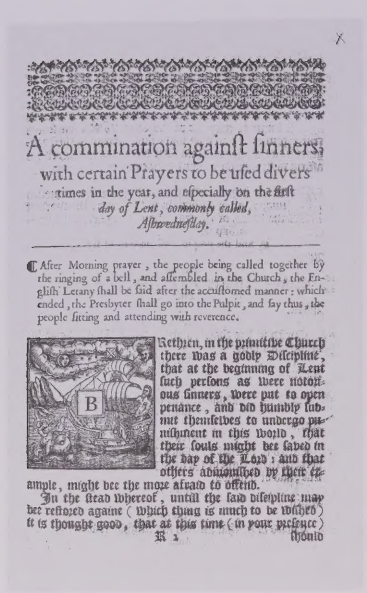


editor, who is identified only by his initials 'E.M.', apparently consulted the best copies of the harmonies available to him, and the tunes are selected from both domestic and foreign sources, with several originating in England, France, and Germany.[164] The hymn tunes are preceded by a calendar (that, while reformed, still includes such feasts as the Purification and Assumption of Mary), a formula for the confession of the Reformed faith, liturgical and private prayers, as well as forms for the proper administration of the sacraments and ordinances of the church. The public singing of the Psalms was both a religious and cultural expression of the reformed faith in Scotland, with many tunes still used in the twenty-first century.

On loan from the library of Eric Robertson.

38 *The Booke of Common Prayer, and Administration of the* 39 *Sacraments, and other Parts of Divine Service for the Use of the Church of Scotland.* Edinburgh: Robert Young, 1637.

Few books have fueled as much anger and have had such wide repercussions as this first Scottish edition of the *Book of Common Prayer.* Before King James VI succeeded to Elizabeth's throne he had already attempted to align the Scottish Church more closely with the ecclesiastical polity south of his border. In the 1580s, for example, he reintroduced a limited form of episcopacy to the Scottish church, and subsequently increased the number of bishops in the country after uniting the crowns of the two kingdoms.[165] His faltering attempts to make liturgical reforms in Scotland in 1616 and



A commination againſt ſinners,
with certain Prayers to be uſed divers
times in the year, and eſpecially on the firſt
day of Lent, commonly called,
Aſhwedneſday.

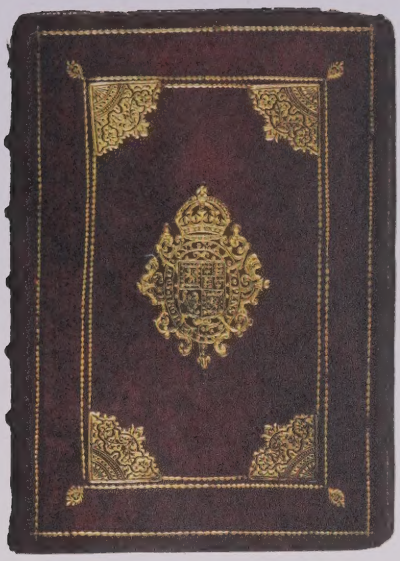
After Morning prayer, the people being called together by the ringing of a bell, and aſſembled in the Church, the Engliſh Letany ſhall be ſaid after the accuſtomed manner: which ended, the Presbyter ſhall go into the Pulpit, and ſay thus, the people ſitting and attending with reverence.

Brethren, in the primitive Church there was a godly Diſcipline, that at the beginning of Lent ſuch perſons as were notorious ſinners, were put to open penance, and did humbly ſubmit themſelves to undergo puniſhment in this world, that their ſoules might bee ſaved in the day of the Lord: and that others admoniſhed by their example, might bee the more afraid to offend.

In the ſtead whereof, until the ſaid diſcipline may bee reſtored againe (which thing is much to be wiſhed) it is thought good, that at this time (in your preſence)

1621 were inherited by his son, Charles I, who tried to impose uniform worship throughout his realms and territories, a task that in the end proved impossible and helped to set his nation on the road towards Civil War and regicide. Charles's high church Archbishop, William Laud (1573–1645), had originally intended simply to introduce the English version of the *Common Prayer* in Scotland with no revisions, a plan that the Scottish bishops deemed reckless. They suggested instead that a text, based on Edward VI's 1549 edition of the Book of Common Prayer, be instituted instead. Laud agreed to this proposal and a new prayer book was drafted by John Maxwell, Bishop of Ross (d. 1647) and James Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane (1585–1639) with such judicious amendments as replacing the word 'priest' with 'presbyter' throughout.[166] On 15 November 1636 the Privy Council of Scotland was ordered by Charles both to publish and implement the use of the new prayer book, with every parish instructed to purchase two copies by Easter of the following year. What the royal directive neglected to say, however, was when the book had to be officially introduced into the churches.[167]

At a meeting convened towards the end of 1636, ministers of the Kirk read selections from the new Prayer Book aloud to howls of indignation and it was condemned for its 'popish errors.' Shortly thereafter plans for civil disobedience were formulated by two local ministers – Alexander Henderson of Leuchars and David Dickson representing the church of Fife and the West. The pair met with a group of women from Edinburgh whom they conscripted to lead a protest on the first occasion that the book would be used in Edinburgh's St Giles' Cathedral. Their initial disruption would then be the cue for the men to take up demonstrations elsewhere in the



city.[168] The presbytery of Edinburgh expected the book to be imposed by Michaelmas (29 September) and was preparing a treatise against its errors, when on 16 July 1637 it was suddenly announced that, by royal decree, the new usage would be introduced the following Sunday. One week was more than sufficient time to organize opposition and so, when on the morning of 23 July the Dean of St Giles began to read the service from the new prayer book, the women rose, began hurling insults at the clergy, and threw their stools towards the chancel itself.[169] The Bishop was pursued down the Royal Mile by the mob, while the Dean hid in the steeple. Similar demonstrations erupted in Greyfriars and Tolbooth kirks, while the minister of Trinity waited to see in which direction the wind was blowing before judiciously laying the Prayer Book aside.[170]

Little effort was made to enforce the royal instructions, and in the weeks that followed no religious services were held in Edinburgh at all (with the exception of the reading of sermons) until the King's wishes were made clear. Not surprisingly, Charles was incensed and demanded that his will be enforced; the city council compromised, however, by buying the books at the rather exorbitant price of £4 16s per copy, but not requiring their use.

The Scots remained defiant in the months that followed. The trajectory that began with the arrogant imposition of the despised Prayer Book would lead to the abolition of the bishops in Scotland and ultimately to the violence of the Civil War itself. As one scholar put it, 'fear for religion, for property, of arbitrary government and of loss of national identity all came together ... to produce an explosion of this magnitude ... Thus the stage was set for that more famous drama which would now unfold south of the Tweed, and

which would end, to the outrage of virtually all those now in revolt against their sovereign, on the scaffold outside the Banqueting House at Whitehall.'[171]

The printer of the Scottish Prayer Book, Robert Young, was an Englishman who had been appointed King's Printer for Scotland by Charles I in 1632. Up until this time, the King's Printer had also served as Printer to the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland.[172] Young's association with the Prayer Book, however, caused him to fall afoul of the Assembly which reconvened in 1638 after a twenty-year hiatus. The printer was forced to flee to England and he personally forfeited some of the costs he had incurred from printing the loathed service book.[173] In 1641, however, he was re-appointed King's Printer for Scotland together with Evan Tyler who would, among other things, be responsible for the printing of the *Solemn League and Covenant* of 1643.

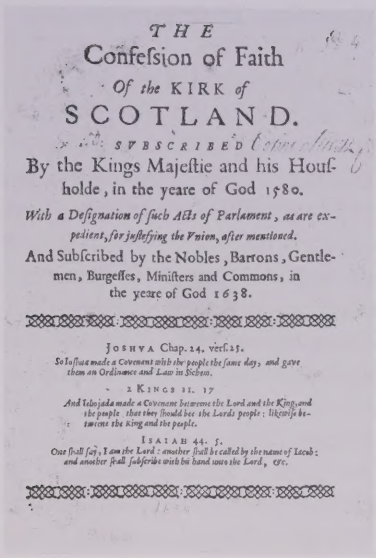
The rare large-paper copy of the Prayer Book is in a contemporary calf binding with gilt paneled sides, large corner stamps, and the royal arms of King Charles I as King of Scotland embossed on the upper cover, suggesting early ownership by someone more sympathetic to the liturgical changes.

The large paper copy is on loan from the library of Eric Robertson.

40 Church of Scotland. *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland.* [Edinburgh? George Anderson? 1638?].

In the wake of James I's imposition of the 'Five Articles of Perth' in 1618 (aimed at bringing the Presbyterian Church into greater conformity with Anglicanism), 'Conventicles' or prayer groups were established across the length and breadth of the nation to resist the re-introduction of 'Romanism' into Scotland. The Conventiclers emphasized the image of Scotland as the heir to ancient Israel, a people like them willing to make a direct covenant with God himself, though now framed within the context of the principles of the Reformed Protestantism. The controversial introduction of the 1637 *Book of Common Prayer* strengthened the resolve of the church's ministers against Charles I and his bishops, and led directly to the publication of this document on 27 February 1638, more commonly known as 'The National Covenant' of the people of Scotland.

Besides affirming allegiance to Christ before any earthly king, *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland* also outlined a political structure for the kingdom in which the monarch's powers were now essentially limited within a theocratic state.[174] It was drawn up by Alexander Henderson (d. 1646) and Archibald Johnston of Wariston (1611–1663), and has been described as a 'shrewdly vague' document aimed, on the one hand, at appealing to all classes of Scots, while on



THE
Confeſsion of Faith
Of the KIRK of
SCOTLAND.
SVBSCRIBED
By the Kings Majeſtie and his Houſ-
holde, in the yeare of God 1580.
With a Deſignation of ſuch Acts of Parlament, as are ex-
pedient, for juſtefying the Vnion, after mentioned.
And Subſcribed by the Nobles, Barrons, Gentle-
men, Burgeſſes, Miniſters and Commons, in
the yeare of God 1638.

IOSHVA Chap. 24. verſ. 25.
So Ieſſua made a Covenant with the people the ſame day, and gave
them an Ordinance and Law in Sichem.
2 KINGS 11. 17
And Iehoiada made a Covenant betweene the Lord and the King, and
the people that they ſhould bee the Lords people; likewiſe be-
tweene the King and the people.
ISAIAH 44. 5.
One ſhall ſay, I am the Lord: another ſhall be called by the name of Iacob:
and another ſhall ſubſcribe with his hand vnto the Lord, &c.

the other avoiding accusations of treason. The Scottish Covenanters may not have directly initiated the revolt against Charles, but they were the means of communicating the message 'that opposition to the royal prerogative in defence of religious and civil liberty was divinely warranted.'[175] Having embraced the principles of the Reformed faith, the Scottish leaders now perceived themselves as possessing the sovereignty of the children of God. To that end, then, the National Covenant declared that 'that all Kings and Princes at their coronation and reception of their princely authority, shall make their faithful promise by their solemn oath in the presence of the Eternal God, that during the whole time of their lives they shall serve the same Eternal God to the utmost of their power, according as He hath required in His most Holy Word, contained in the Old and New Testaments, and according to the same Word shall maintain the true religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of His Holy Word, the due and right ministration of the sacraments now received and preached within this realm (according to the confession of faith immediately preceding); and shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to the same.' In essence, the Covenant states that the people, in trust, vouch for their king in his defence of true religion, and that their National Covenant was utterly inviolable – *caveat Imperator.*

Although no printer's name is attached to this foundational pamphlet, it is most frequently credited to George Anderson, who was the first man named 'Printer to the General Assembly.' Before him it was generally accepted that the King's printer for Scotland was the *de facto* printer to the Kirk.[176] After the fiasco surrounding Robert Young and the printing of the Book of Common Prayer, this was clearly a conflict of interests that had to be rectified.

41 The National Covenant. [Edinburgh], 1638.

Under the influence of the Reformers Heinrich Bullinger and Ulrich Zwingli 'covenanting' had become a major component of what came to be known as 'federal theology', the idea that whole nations, as well as individuals, could enter into a binding relationship with God. Unlike at English institutions, 'Federal theology' was actually introduced to the core curricula at universities in Edinburgh and Aberdeen at the beginning of the seventeenth century, while members of the laity were encouraged to renew their own personal covenants with God on a regular basis.[177] For those in the Reformed tradition, subscribing to such a covenant was as solemn an act as the reception of Holy Communion, and was approached with the same degree of awe, if not dread. Sermons were preached to prepare the faithful to sign, just as they would have been preached in the weeks leading up to the administration of the Lord's Supper. The idea of a 'Covenant' therefore, meant much more to the Scots than just a legal contract; it was a pledge of both national and personal reform, directed at the preservation of the purity of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland as well as the renewal of the Church of England along the lines of the Continental Reformation.

This large copy of the Covenant, beautifully engrossed on vellum, was formerly in Prestonfield House, Edinburgh, the home of Sir William Dick, one of the city's leading covenanting merchants. The title is separated from the body of the text by the image of two fish with intertwined tails, while to the left, a pelican pecks its breast, an ancient symbol for Christ as the *pie pellicane*. The opening words of the covenant are illuminated in gold. It was transcribed by John Laurie in Edinburgh, and bears the signatures of nineteen nobles, fifty lairds, and thirty-six ministers. Among them is the name of Andrew Fairfoul at Leith who became a bitter opponent of the Covenanters, and was the first post-Restoration Archbishop of Glasgow, serving as Ordinary there from 1661 to 1663.[178] This copy of the Covenant was sold in 1906 to the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario, the Honourable W.M. Clark (1836–1915), and presented in that same year to Knox College by an alumnus, the Reverend Charles W. Gordon (1860–1937) who is better known in literary circles by his pen name 'Ralph Connor', the author of *Glengarry School Days*.[179]

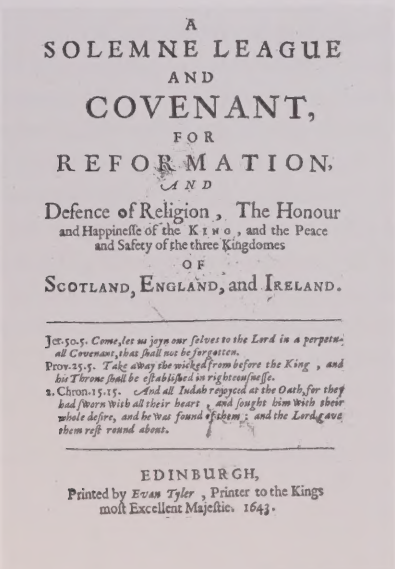
On loan from Knox College, University of Toronto.

42 ***Solemne League and Covenant.*** **Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1643.**

43 ***A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.*** **Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1648.**

While the first shots of the English Civil War were fired between Parliamentarians and Royalists in 1641 over what manner of government should rule England, the roots of the rebellion were to be found north of the border with the Scottish rejection of the Prayer Book and the proclamation of the National Covenant. In 1643, the 'Solemn League and Covenant' was entered into between representatives of the Scottish people and the Parliamentarians, with the Scots pledging their support in return for the imposition of a Presbyterian form of church polity and doctrine upon the church in this new Commonwealth. It was ratified by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland on 17 August 1643 and by the Westminster Assembly one month later; the following January, the Scottish army marched into England in support of Parliament. The degree of sincere commitment, especially on the part of the Parliamentarians, however, varied widely.

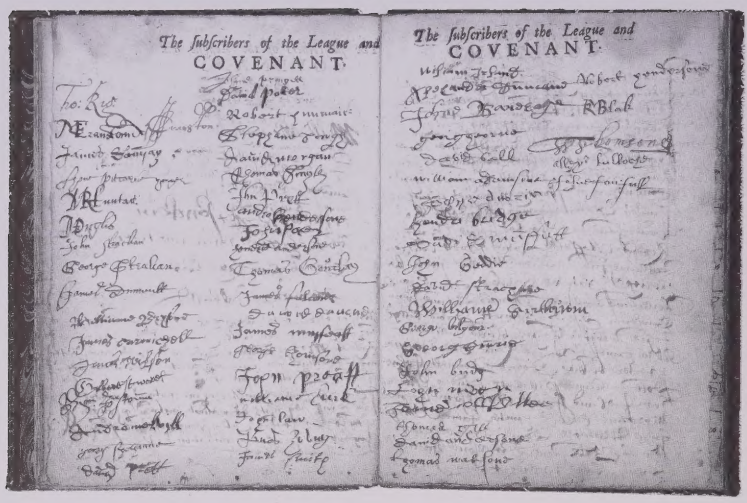
At one level the Solemn League was an oath, intended to test the loyalty of subjects, and as a result numerous subscription lists still survive from Sussex to Scotland. The displayed 1648 edition comes from the parish of Scoonie in Fife, and on 31 December 1648 and 1 January 1649 it was signed by the minister, eight elders, sixty-four others, and includes the names of more than a hundred mem-



A
SOLEMNE LEAGUE
AND
COVENANT,
FOR
REFORMATION,
AND
Defence of Religion, The Honour and Happineſſe of the KING, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdomes
OF
SCOTLAND, ENGLAND, and IRELAND.

Jer.50.5. *Come, let us joyn our ſelves to the Lord in a perpetuall Covenant, that ſhall not be forgotten.*
Prov.25.5. *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne ſhall be eſtabliſhed in righteouſneſſe.*
2. Chron.15.15. *And all Iudah rejoyced at the Oath, for they had ſworn with all their heart, and ſought him with their whole deſire, and he was found of them; and the Lord gave them reſt round about.*

EDINBURGH,
Printed by *Evan Tyler*, Printer to the Kings moſt Excellent Majeſtie. 1643.



bers of the 'church of Skony that cannot writ.' At another level, however, the Solemn League was more than merely an oath, since in the view of the framers, God was actually one of the parties to the contract, pledging his protection in return for their loyalty to the reformed faith. For that reason, copies were subsequently printed, and subscribers were encouraged to hang them in their homes where they could be read frequently, reminding signatories of their personal duty to the Almighty and to the prosperity of their earthly kingdom. To them, the Covenant that had been initiated with the people of ancient Israel in the mists of time, and renewed by Luther a century before, had finally reached its apogee on the island of Great Britain.[180] It was admired widely among Protestants and was translated into French, Dutch, and Latin.

In the autumn of 1643 the Solemn League and Covenant was printed in large runs in Scotland, and issued simultaneously by the presses of Robert Bryson and Evan Tyler in Edinburgh, as well as by Edward Raban in Aberdeen. Tyler, who was responsible for the Fisher copy, ran an extensive operation and was clearly an equal opportunity pressman. Appointed King's Printer for Scotland in 1641, he worked for both the Royalists and the Kirk until 1650 before returning to England in 1653.[181] As for the Covenant, Charles II was forced to subscribe to it on 23 June 1650 at Garmouth, Scotland, though he did not renew it after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660.

The 1648 edition is on loan from the library of Eric Robertson.

CASE VI: CATHOLIC REACTION & REFORMATION

While some leading Catholics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries viewed the invention of the printing press with apprehension, others welcomed the distinct possibilities it offered for a more efficient dissemination of official teaching. On the one hand, Thomas More (1478–1535), Chancellor of England, prayed at the beginning of his *Co[n]futacyon of Tyndales answere* that 'Our lorde send us nowe some yeres as plenteouse of good corne, as we have hadde some yeres of late plenteous of evyll bokes.'[182] On the other, Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), the great German Humanist who participated in the Council of Basel, called movable print a 'divine art' with enormous potential for the Church's evangelical activities.[183] Indeed, Nicholas may have even employed Gutenberg himself to print indulgences for sale as early as 1452.[184] It is also incontestable that on the eve of the Reformation, print had given a second wind to such hagiographical classics as the *Golden Legend* and the *Festial* of John Mirk (fl. 1380–1420), to name but two titles.

After the Reformation, the role of the press in the Catholic world slowly took on added importance. Some ninety-two printers, the largest single concentration in the Germanic territories, established themselves in the Catholic stronghold of Cologne.[185] Newly printed volumes of apologetics, theology, and Canon Law produced by Catholic printers became part of the Church's defensive arsenal, clarifying what constituted orthodox doctrine whilst simultaneously condemning the errors of those who had departed from its unity. The Catholic press also became an essential tool in the church's missionary work. In Protestant territories, where the ordinary priest was now *persona non grata*, books became something of a surrogate for clerical presence, but only if the books could actually be obtained. In order to achieve that often elusive goal, many printers learned to become quite creative, even with regards to following official Roman instructions. Despite the Council of Trent's decree, *De editione et usu sacrorum librorum* (1546), forbidding the use of false imprints, Catholic printers regularly resorted to issuing the works of anonymous authors with fictitious places of publication in order to get their books past Protestant censors and border officials. Catholic authorities also took full advantage of the press during the Catholic Reformation period by issuing standardized liturgical books and, after a false start or two, a corrected Vulgate Bible that could be shared across the Continent. For European printers, the Catholic Reformation was many things, including a business opportunity.

44 Bernard of Luxemburg (ca. 1460–1535). *Catalogus haereticorum.* Paris: Jean Petit, 1524.

Seven years after Luther affixed his theses to the door of Wittenberg Castle chapel, while John Calvin was a still student in the city of Paris, this influential catalogue of heretics was compiled and published by the Dominican theologian and controversialist, Bernard of Luxemburg. In spite of the fact that he was a graduate of the illustrious University of Louvain, and had served as Inquisitor of the Archdioceses of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier, many contemporary Catholic authorities still felt that he lacked critical judgment. Bernard's goal in preparing this volume was to associate modern heresies with the ancient ones of the Patristic period in order to demonstrate that there was nothing new under the theological sun. As far as Luther was concerned, however, by issuing this index Bernard had actually wakened 'sleeping heresies' by making them and their doctrines more widely known to the reading public than they had been previously.[186] It is worthy of note that Luther's name is not enumerated among the heretics. The omission was not intended to exonerate the Reformer, but rather was a tacit assertion that, after the papal condemnation of 3 January 1521, Luther was not even worthy to be numbered among earlier offenders against orthodoxy like Arius and Pelagius. Instead the 'Luterani' are listed between the 'Luciferans' and 'Mahomet', indicating not only those who directly followed Luther's teaching, but all of his generation who departed from the doctrine of the Church of Rome.[187] Since Bernard considered Luther to be a follower of Lucifer himself, the alphabetical placement of his eponymous movement immediately

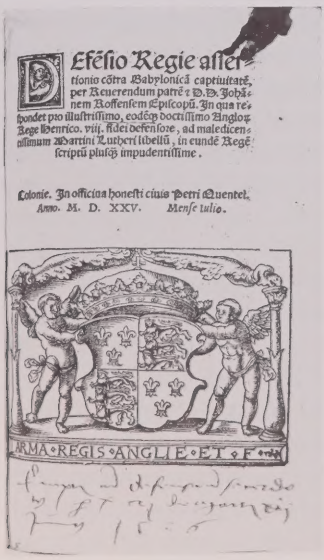
after the disciples of the 'Father of all Lies' was a felicitous coincidence.

The catalogue is opened to a woodcut depicting 'heresy' as a man standing on a pillar with his feet chained, held fast by two demons. Another demon flies about the man's head, trumpeting heresy into his ear, while the flames at his feet suggest not only the method of his eventual execution, but also the fate that awaits him in the afterlife. His elevated right hand indicates that he is a teacher, but his left hand, hovering over the fire, points out the final destination of all who follow him. Finally, the book that he holds strikes a note of ambiguity: on the one hand books communicate the eternal truths that Bernard seeks to defend, while at the same time they are the source for the numerous erroneous teachings of his age, multiplied and disseminated so easily, thanks to the new printing press.

Bernard's catalogue was extremely important since it influenced later Indexes, such as the one included by Sebastian Franck (1499–1542) in his *Chronica Zeytbuch und Geschichtbibel* of 1531.[188] In time individual dioceses would develop similar printed lists, eventually culminating in the Indexes of Forbidden Books first issued by Rome in 1557.

45 Saint John Fisher (1469–1535). *Defe[n]sio Regie assertionis co[n]tra Babylonica[m] capituitate[m]*. Cologne: Peter Quentell, 1525.

Before becoming Bishop of Rochester in 1504, John Fisher had served as chaplain to Lady Margaret Beaufort (d. 1509), mother of King Henry VII; Fisher's credentials at the Tudor court, therefore,


Defensio Regie asser-
tionis cõtra Babylonicã captiuitatẽ,
per Reuerendum patrẽ ᵈ D. Io. Rof-
nem Roffensem Episcopũ. In qua re-
spondet pro illustrissimo, eodẽq; doctissimo Anglo-
Rege Henrico. viij. fidei defensore, ad maledicen-
issimum Martini Lutheri libellũ, in eundẽ Regẽ
scriptũ plusq; impudentissime.

Colonie. In officina honesti ciuis Petri Quentel.
Anno. M. D. XXV. Mense Iulio.

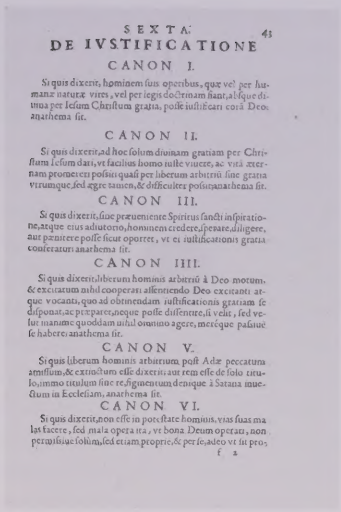
ARMA·REGIS·ANGLIE·ET·F

were impeccable. Like Erasmus and Thomas More, Fisher was a Christian Humanist who believed that the reform of the church was better accomplished from within the communion rather than from without. He therefore regarded the challenge to the Church's unity represented by Luther with abhorrence. In 1525, rumours began to circulate suggesting that King Henry VIII was becoming sympathetic to Lutheran teaching, despite the fact that he had co-written the *Assertio septem sacramentum* or 'Defence of the Seven Sacraments'. The treatise had criticized Luther's opposition to indulgences and denounced his reinterpretation of the sacraments, as well as the anti-papal tone of the *De captivitate Babylonica* of 1520 (case two). As a reward for his defence of Catholic orthodoxy, Henry was given the title 'Defender of the Faith' by Pope Leo X. Luther responded, in less than diplomatic tones, with his *Contra Henricum regem Anglie* in 1522. Both More and Fisher in their turn replied, with Fisher writing this treatise in which he defends the King's orthodox teachings in the face of Lutheran detraction, maintaining that the onus is on the innovator of doctrine to defend his teaching, rather than on those like Henry who have remained faithful to orthodoxy. In the course of this diatribe he attacks Luther's positions on the apostolicity of the Epistle of James, the equality of all Christians, the nature of the Mass, as well as the sacramentality of marriage and ordination. In recognition that the battle with Luther could only be won on a level playing field, Fisher argues his positions by consistently using arguments drawn from Scripture and the Fathers of the Church. The Fisher copy is the first edition, bears an ownership mark from 1526, and displays extensive underlining, annotations, and use of manicules.

Fisher was one of the staunchest defenders of Henry's marriage to Catherine of Aragon and provided the Queen with advice to help her manoeuvre around the complexities of Canon Law. In 1534, Parliament passed the Act of Succession, requiring all faithful subjects to swear an oath recognizing Anne Boleyn to be the King's lawful wife and any of their children the legitimate heirs to Henry's throne. Fisher, and his friend More, refused the oath, and so both were tried, found guilty of treason, and executed on Tower Hill in 1535.

46 Council of Trent. *Canones, et decreta sacrosancti oecumenici, et generalis Concilii Tridentini.* Lyons: Guillaume Rouillé, 1564.

More than a generation passed before the Roman Catholic hierarchy formally gathered to respond to the Protestant Reformation that had begun in 1517, and the stakes at the time it was convened could not have been higher. The Holy Roman Emperors Charles V and his successor Ferdinand I (1503–1563) demanded that a Council be held



SEXTA 45
DE IVSTIFICATIONE
CANON I.
Si quis dixerit, hominem sine operibus, quæ vel per humanæ naturæ vires, vel per legis doctrinam fiant, absque divina per Iesum Christum gratia, posse iustificari coram Deo; anathema sit.
CANON II.
Si quis dixerit, ad hoc solum divinam gratiam per Christum Iesum dari, vt facilius homo iuste viuere, ac vitam æternam promereri possit, quasi per liberum arbitrium sine gratia vtrumque, sed ægre tamen, & difficulter possit; anathema sit.
CANON III.
Si quis dixerit, sine præueniente Spiritus sancti inspiratione, atque eius adiutorio, hominem credere, sperare, diligere, aut pœnitere posse, sicut oportet, vt ei iustificationis gratia conferatur; anathema sit.
CANON IIII.
Si quis dixerit, liberum hominis arbitrium à Deo motum, & excitatum nihil cooperari assentiendo Deo excitanti atque vocanti, quo ad obtinendam iustificationis gratiam se disponat, ac præparet, neque posse dissentire, si velit, sed velut inane quoddam nihil omnino agere, meréque passiue se habere; anathema sit.
CANON V.
Si quis liberum hominis arbitrium, post Adæ peccatum amissum, & extinctum esse dixerit; aut rem esse de solo titulo, immo titulum sine re, figmentum denique à Satana inuectum in Ecclesiam; anathema sit.
CANON VI.
Si quis dixerit, non esse in potestate hominis, vias suas malas facere, sed mala opera ita, vt bona Deum operari, non permissiue solum, sed etiam proprie, & per se, adeo vt sit pro-
f 2

in Germanic lands to address the confessional issues that were threatening the stability of their rule, especially in northern Europe. The French King Henry II (1519–1559) and later the Queen Regent Catherine de Medici (1519–1589) perceived in the rise of the Huguenots a similar menace to their authority, and although the goals of these rival monarchs were not identical, they all felt the need for an independent council to settle the Continent's religious problem. Three popes - Paul III (1468–1549), Julius III (1487–1555), and Pius IV(1499–1565) - would preside over an assembly that they would never actually attend; but the Council of Trent (named after the northern Italian city in the Emperor's territory where it was held) and the Tridentine culture to which it gave birth, left an indelible impression on Catholicism well into the contemporary era. It met in three sessions from 1545 to 1547, 1551 to 1552, and 1562 to 1563, and the canons and decrees the Council issued shaped the direction of the Counter (or Catholic) Reformation.

As one of the greatest historians of the Council observed, it was Martin Luther (who died one year into the first session) who really set the agenda for the assembly.[189] Justification, absentee bishops and pastors, the efficacy of the sacraments, the vernacular Bible: these were the controversial topics Luther had highlighted that the clerics of the Catholic world were now forced to deal with in a systematic way. The course of the Council, however, was anything but smooth. At no time during its three sessions did the number of bishops ever exceed 250, and at times they were fewer than thirty-five, with northern Europe underrepresented and the Italian peninsula overrepresented.[190] Complaints about the freedom of the delegates surfaced almost from the beginning.[191] Bishops who often owed their appointments to their sovereigns did not necessarily support the policies of the papal legates if they were antithetical to

those of their temporal lords. While Catholic monarchs insisted on a reform of the Church in head and members to restore the hegemony of Christendom, the popes and members of the Roman curia resisted, hoping to avoid the dangers associated with previous assemblies, such as the one held at Basel in 1432 that had declared councils the supreme governing body of the church. Rome instead preferred that Trent deal principally with doctrinal issues rather than organizational. In the end, however, both were addressed, with the Council's decrees and canons carefully supporting episcopal authority without challenging papal, thus avoiding the more thorny issues associated with Conciliarism.[192] Subsequent generations, however, allowed the myth of Trent as the supreme moment of universal Catholic agreement to replace the reality.

Over the centuries that followed, bishops and secular rulers far from Rome studied and analyzed Trent's canons and decrees, implementing what was useful in their particular situations while ignoring other features. The canons, however, provided the foundational theory for a 'Tridentine Catholicism' that would be achieved principally through the efforts of local diocesan councils regularly held thereafter around the world. Certain reforms, such as of the Liturgy, were successful and universally applied, while others, like the mandatory residency of bishops, remained a vexed issue for at least a century longer. The Council's greatest failure, however, was its inability to heal the rupture of the western church. By the time it met, the 'operational paradigm' of Protestantism was no longer consistent with Catholicism, and so it was not just dogma that now separated the two branches of Christianity. The Council did succeed, however, in providing a form of unity within Catholicism itself to the extent that, at the very least, Catholic clergy, governors, and people had a shared set of texts – the Canons and Decrees – that formed the basis for centuries of conversation and interpretation.

In April of 1564, the printer of this copy of the *Decrees*, Guillaume Rouillé, appointed Vincent and André de Portonariis as his power of attorney to represent him before Fernando Valdés, Archbishop of Seville and Inquisitor of Spain. The reason was that he hoped to receive restitution from him, as well as the inquisitors of Toledo, and other judges, for books he had printed which had been confiscated by Antonio Riccard, the public prosecutor.

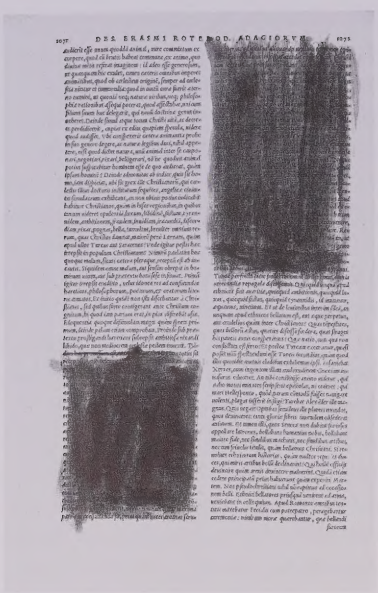
47 *Index librorum prohibitorum.* Paris: Nicolas Chesneau, 1566.

One of the most immediate responses to the Reformation undertaken by the Council of Trent was the control of information through censorship. Indeed, the Tridentine Church launched the most effective campaign of the sort ever seen in the West, beginning

in the sixteenth century (especially after the establishment of the Sacred Congregation of the Index in 1571) and lasting until the twentieth. As previously noted, the printing press represented a double-edged sword for Catholicism. On the one hand, the bishops recognized that the press could facilitate the Church's mission more effectively than any other instrument previously available; on the other, however, they also appreciated that the press could potentially threaten the Church's previously uncontested domination over thought and belief. Pope Paul IV authorized the first *Index librorum prohibitorum* (or *Index of Forbidden Books* as it came to be known in the English-speaking world) in 1557, although it was withdrawn shortly thereafter. The 1559 edition is, therefore, considered the first authorized *Index*. The 1564 edition confirmed that all books condemned by the Holy See before 1515 remained under the ban, but added to these the works of the 'heresiarchs', a title previously reserved for the likes of Arius and Pelagius, but now applied to Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.[193] Like the catalogue of Bernard of Luxemburg, the *Index* was conveniently arranged alphabetically and hierarchically, so that one could easily recognize which condemned authors belonged to the *prima classis* or to the less ominous *alteri*. Later in the sixteenth century, the Sacred Congregation developed a variation known as the *Index librorum expurgatorum*, whose purpose was to assist librarians in the partial censorship of works by otherwise orthodox authors by indicating the exact page numbers and sentences to be expurgated from the offending text using a black ink pen.[194] In many cases, the iron gall ink used to obliterate the offending passages was highly acidic and did a more thorough job of expunging text than even the censors could have imagined by bleeding through the paper and often obscuring the text on the other side of the page or destroying the paper itself. Without these required emendations, however, a work could not have remained in circulation in the Catholic world. Support for the use of the *Index*, however, was not universal among Roman Catholics. Shortly after the first official edition appeared, the Jesuit priest Peter Canisius (1521–1597), who was canonized a saint in 1925, wrote to the General of his order, Diego Lainez (1512–1565), saying that the *Index* was both 'intolerable' and a 'scandal.'[195] Nevertheless, it was published and updated regularly, with the last edition issued in 1948.

48 Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536). *Adagiorum opus Des. Erasmi Roterdami.* Lyon: Sebastian Gryphius, 1541.

The book on display is an excellent example of compliance with the requirements of the *Index librorum expurgatorum* and begins with an early owner's inscription on the title page, 'O Erasmus, you were the first to write the praise of folly, indicating the foolishness of your



own nature.' The *Adages* is a collection of ancient proverbs combined with the commentary of Desiderius Erasmus, one of the greatest of the Humanist thinkers. Erasmus had walked a fine line between the orthodox and Reformed camps in the early years of the Reformation. His own expressed desire for the church's renewal and return to its sources was, in the end, not considered sufficient by Luther or the other Reformers. At the same time, he was mistrusted by the Catholic hierarchy which correctly saw in such books as *The Praise of Folly* and *Julius Excluded* criticism of their own governance. His decision to retranslate the New Testament in 1516 in order to improve on St Jerome's Vulgate text was shocking to many of his contemporaries, and both Protestants and Catholics took umbrage at his vanity and egotism. Erasmus understood, however, that perhaps owing to his controversial reputation, his patronage was coveted by printers and editors alike, and in 1523 he boasted to a friend that 'publishers know that there is scarcely any other name as saleable as mine.'[196]

The censored passage on display contains Erasmus's reflection on Pindar's proverb, 'War is sweet to those who have never experienced it.' In the blotted sections, Erasmus hammers away at one of the foundations of the medieval Christendom, observing that 'the whole of Aristotle was accepted into the heart of theology, and accepted to the extent that his authority was almost more sacred than that of Christ. For if anything Christ said is not easily seen as fitted to the way we live we are permitted to interpret it differently, but anyone who dares to oppose in the slightest degree the oracles of Aristotle is immediately hissed off the stage.'[197] Thus, in a few brief, caustic words did Erasmus not only skewer Aristotle and his

contribution to the 'Just War Theory', but also the Scholastic philosophy that underpinned the teachings of St Thomas Aquinas and much of the medieval church itself. More pages of the *Index librorum expurgatorum* were dedicated to expunging the words of Erasmus than any other single author, undoubtedly a reflection of the great thinker's enduring influence. In the 1667 Madrid edition, the censorship instructions pertaining to Erasmus alone amounted to 120 columns.

49 *Missale Romanum: ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum.* Venice: Giovanni Varisco, 1572.

Complaints about abuses of the Mass began to surface in Wittenberg as early as 1517, and by 1522 the City Council there had petitioned the Elector to end the practice of priests singing five and six daily Masses in order to receive more stipends.[198] Elsewhere, the more radical Protestant Reformers quickly rejected the sacrificial character of the Mass as it had evolved from ancient times in favour of forms of worship that eschewed ritual and emphasized preaching with somewhat greater participation on the part of the faithful. The Mass, therefore, became a flashpoint of controversy, and highlighted the fundamental division between members of the Catholic and Reformed communities, with the latter claiming the ritual to be idolatrous. One of the greatest legacies of the Counter-Reformation in general, and of the Council of Trent in particular, therefore, was the reform and standardization of the existing medieval liturgies, many of which reflected local usage and customs rather than the Church's universal character. In August of 1562 the Council of Trent

promulgated its official teachings on the Eucharist, insisting that the Mass was indeed a sacrifice linked to Calvary and not merely a memorial of Christ's Last Supper. It also affirmed the truth of transubstantiation, and countered each of the Reformers' objections without actually mentioning them by name.[199] Then in 1570, the Tridentine Mass of Pope Pius V, as it came to be known, became the official liturgy of the Roman Rite and remained in continuous use until 1965.

The rubrics of the new Tridentine Missal emphatically asserted the centrality of the clerical role during the Mass, while simultaneously confirming the laity as prayerful spectators. Though present for the service, lay participation was confined to private acts of piety, such as the recitation of the rosary or the singing of hymns that were often unrelated to the liturgical action in the sanctuary.[200] When celebrated well, the Tridentine Mass was a masterpiece of art and mystical spirituality. Its complex ritual, however, made it difficult to execute in a dignified manner in many smaller communities, while the liturgical inflexibility it spawned led to a formalism that many Catholic theologians themselves questioned, ultimately culminating in its reform during the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). Nevertheless, it is still celebrated in many communities around the globe to this day.

The universal application of Trent's liturgical reforms would have been impossible were it not for the invention of the printing press that sped copies of the new Missal and its rites all over the Catholic world, creating a single, unified act of worship in place of the diversity of customs found in the late Middle Ages. The Fisher copy was printed by the Venetian Giovanni Varisco, who held both the papal and the Venetian privilege to issue the Missal – a privilege that was blatantly ignored by other Venetian printers at the time and who flooded the market with defective copies.[201] Varisco's Missal, printed only two years after the new Mass had been promulgated, is replete with numerous beautiful woodcuts and borders such as this one framing the '*Te igitur*', the introduction to the most sacred part of the Mass, the Consecration. The red text, or rubrics, instruct the priest on precisely when to extend his hands, bring them together, lift his eyes, and kiss the altar.

50 Gerónimo Nadal (1507–1580). *Euangelicae historiae imagines*. Antwerp: [Martin Nuyts], 1593.

The Majorcan Gerónimo Nadal was numbered among the first ten members of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) founded by St Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and given papal approbation in 1540. Since education was a principal weapon in the Jesuit struggle against Protestant incursions throughout Europe, the publication and dis-

SABBATHO POST CINERES.
Ambulat super mare IESVS. 44
Matth. xiiij. Marc. vi. Ioan. vi. Anno xxxij. xxiij
A. Multitudo deliberans de creando Rege IESV.
B. Hoc cum sciret IESVS, primum præire discipulos, & mare transmittere iubet.
C. Secedit deinde solus in montem, vt oret.
D. Mare Galilææ, siue Tiberiadis, siue Geneſareth.
E. Naues in medio mari iactatur fluctibus, laborant remigando discipuli.
F. IESVS ambulans super mare, nauim præterire velle se simulat.
G. Perturbantur discipuli; & quasi ad phantasma exclamant.
H. Petrus, concedente IESV, desilit in mare; titubans incipit mergi; eum IESVS à præsenti periculo eripit.
I. Appellunt in terram Geneſareth.

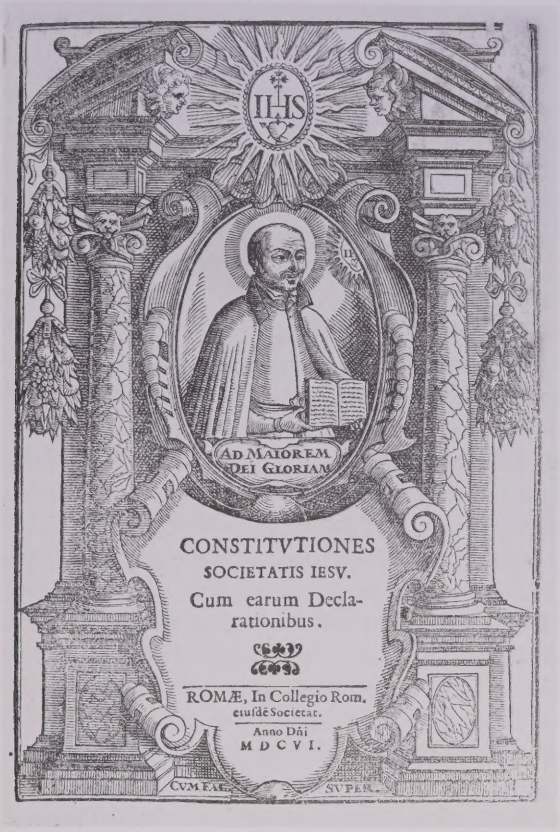
semination of instructional and inspirational texts constituted an important part of their arsenal. To that end, Ignatius himself asked Nadal to design this book, containing 153 engravings of scenes from the Gospels, accompanied by both explanatory notes and devotional prayers, although the plates often appeared on their own.[202] The book was immensely popular in the campaigns of the European Counter-Reformation, in part because it used the relatively new technique of 'perspective drawing' which rendered the stories more realistic and accessible to Renaissance readers. It also became an effective tool for evangelization throughout the international Jesuit missions, and was particularly influential in the development of

Spanish colonial art both in South America and Asia.[203] More importantly, however, the engravings were complementary to Ignatian spirituality which encouraged the devout to visualize a particular biblical scene and then place themselves among the principal characters, sharing with them their insights and emotions. The engravings were republished, though in an inferior manner, in 1594 and 1595 as part of a work entitled *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* that featured significantly expanded meditative texts.

Neither Nadal nor Ignatius would live to see the project to its completion. Until 1589 the Jesuits had patronized the Plantin Press for the publication of many of their most important works. With the death of Christopher Plantin in that year, they began to look to other printers living in and around Antwerp to execute their designs.[204] The book was finally issued in 1593, likely by the Fleming, Martin Nuyts, with fine engravings by the brothers Jan (1549-ca.1618), Hieronymus (1553–1619), and Anton Wierix (ca. 1552-ca.1604), as well as others by Karel van Mallery (1571–1645) and Jan Collaert (ca. 1561-ca. 1620) – all artistic luminaries in late sixteenth-century Flanders. Each engraving follows the same motif. The *titulus* indicates the day on the church's calendar when the story is read, together with the appropriate biblical citation, as well as Christ's age at the time of the event depicted. Two series of numbers, arabic and roman, appear at the top right of each plate, with the arabic numbers reflecting the order of the plates when issued separately, while the roman numerals indicate the rearrangement of the plates according to the order of the Roman Missal.[205] The apparatus below each picture is a guide to interpreting the scene.

51 Society of Jesus. *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu, cum earum Declarationibus.* Rome: The Roman College, 1606.

In many ways the members of the Society of Jesus were the foot soldiers in Catholicism's war with Protestantism. After he was wounded at the Battle of Pamplona in 1521, Ignatius of Loyola had a mystical experience that led to his subsequent resignation from military service in favour of the Church. He never forgot his disciplined training, however, and it became an indispensable tool in the formation of the men who would join his Society. Shortly after assembling a new community of religious men in 1534, Ignatius began drafting the Jesuit *Constitutiones* together with some of his confrères, a project that would continue for more than a decade and not receive final approval until 1558.[206] One of its primary goals was to establish a rigorous and lengthy formation process that would continue even after candidates had been received into priestly orders. The *Constitutiones* also established the Society's unique governance structure with a Superior General stationed in Rome elected for life, assisted



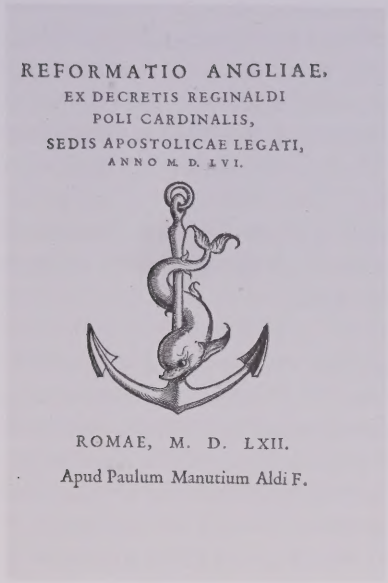
by appointed provincial Superiors who would oversee the Society's interests around the world. One of the more remarkable features of the document, and a tacit admission of the difficulties associated with sixteenth-century communication and travel, is the relative flexibility accorded to individual Jesuits to act on their own initiative.[207] With their international (and increasingly intercontinental) perspective codified in this their foundational document, the Jesuits held fast to a medieval notion of 'Christendom' that crossed borders and stood in marked contrast to attempts by local rulers to control religion within their own territories. As a result, the Society was often viewed suspiciously by both Catholic and Protestant princes who viewed them as agents of papal power.

This particular copy of the *Constitutiones* was printed at the Roman College (known since 1584 as 'the Gregorian'), one of the foremost bastions of Jesuit power and intellectual excellence on the Continent. The woodcut title-page border bears the portrait of Ignatius sporting a halo, a somewhat presumptuous depiction given that he was not beatified until three years after the appearance of this publication.

While Protestant dissenters remained effectively within the reformed Church of England until the further schisms of the mid-seventeenth century, those who continued to pledge their allegiance to the old Church of Rome were forced to practise their faith in secret and became subject to increasingly severe penalties as the decades of Elizabeth's reign passed. This latter group came to be known as 'Recusants', and the publication of their materials, sympathetic to the cause of Rome, became illegal after the Queen's accession in 1558.[208] For the purposes of this catalogue, therefore, Recusant materials refer to those publications, either written after that year by British Catholics, or by foreigners, or specifically aimed at their spiritual comfort. Such works could have been printed in Britain or on the Continent, and may appear in any language. Domestic Catholic presses, such as the one maintained by Edward Brooksby and operated by Stephen Brinkley in East Ham just outside of London, were maintained in strict secrecy for obvious reasons. Father Robert Parsons attests that seven men continually worked the East Ham press, issuing pamphlets and small books intended to counter the steady stream of propaganda being published by the licensed presses. Places like Greenstreet House and Stonor Park functioned in cramped quarters with creaking presses that constantly threatened to betray their activities.[209] Other presses were more safely set up by exiles on the Continent, such as those serving the English Colleges at Douai, St-Omer, Rheims, Valladolid, Seville, and Eu. At the same time, English Catholics availed themselves of the services of previously established printers in the cities of Rome, Paris, Antwerp, Louvain, and Cologne. The dangers associated with the production and dissemination of the Recusant materials cannot be overestimated.

52 Reginald, Cardinal Pole (1500–1558). *Reformatio Angliae ex decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, Sedis Apostolicae legati, anno M.D.LVI.* Rome: Paolo Manuzio, 1562.

In the course of his remarkable career Reginald Pole was a student at Oxford and Padua, Dean of Exeter Cathedral while still a layman, a religious refugee in Rome, a participant in the Council of Trent, Cardinal of the Roman Church, and Archbishop of Canterbury. Through his father he was related to King Henry VIII and through his mother he was a direct descendent of the Plantagenets. In 1529 he obtained a judgment from the theologians of Paris supporting Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, though he later obfuscated about his role in the affair. Clearly, Pole did change his mind about the validity of Henry's first marriage shortly thereafter, and in 1532, with the King's


REFORMATIO ANGLIAE,
EX DECRETIS REGINALDI
POLI CARDINALIS,
SEDIS APOSTOLICAE LEGATI,
ANNO M. D. LVI.

ROMAE, M. D. LXII.
Apud Paulum Manutium Aldi F.

permission, left England for the Continent, purportedly for scholarly reasons. The following three years saw him maintain a diplomatic silence while Henry put Catherine away, married Anne Boleyn, and separated the English Church from Rome.[210] In 1535, requests from England to express his opinion on the upheaval in his native land intensified, and Pole was finally forced to declare himself. His treatise *De unitate*, rejecting the divorce and subsequent changes in the English Church, arrived in London in June of 1536 and, though read by very few, it established Pole's position as a defender of Catholic tradition.[211]

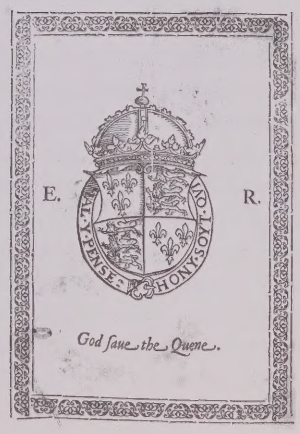
Pole (who was still a layman) returned from exile to his homeland as papal legate in 1554, the year after the accession of Mary Tudor, and rather hastily convened a synod in Westminster dedicated to the reform of the Church in England and its restoration to full Catholic communion. The proceedings and decrees of the synod that met over 1555 and 1556 were recorded in this book, first printed at Rome in 1562, the same year that the Council of Trent reassembled for its final session. Pole's participation in earlier sessions of that Council are clearly evident from the decrees of his own synod, preserved herein. They are an intriguing insight into what might have been, touching on the establishment of English seminaries, reform of benefices and the morals of the clergy, episcopal residence, and the reaffirmation of seven sacraments. The Fisher copy is the second edition printed that year, evident from the fact that it does not repeat the heading for question XLI, and ends with Quaestio LXVII, while the other editions end with LXVI.[212]

It was only after Thomas Cranmer was finally deprived of his archiepiscopal office that the path to priesthood became inevitable

for Pole. In rapid succession he was ordained priest on 20 March 1556, then bishop three days later, and installed as Archbishop of Canterbury on Lady Day, 25 March – a process that would have given many a Reformer cause for pause. He died on 17 November 1558, seven hours after the death of his royal patron, Mary I.

53 Thomas Harding (1516–1572). *A Confutation of a Booke intituled An Apologie of the Church of England.* Antwerp: Hans de Laet, 1565.

Thomas Harding, who was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford by Henry VIII in 1542, had been a committed member of the reformed movement before returning to the Church of Rome early in the reign of Queen Mary I. His conversion, however, appears to have been sincere and caused great distress to the Lady Jane Grey, whom he had once served as chaplain.[213] With the succession of Elizabeth I, Harding fled to the Continent and taught theology in both Douai and Louvain; in fact, more than one hundred senior Oxford scholars left England for the Continent in the first decade of the new reign.[214] Today, Harding's name is scarcely recognized, even among church historians; in his own day, however, he and his writings were as famous as those of his chief Anglican rival, John Jewel. This book was actually Harding's response to Jewel's essay, *Apologia ecclesiae Anglicanae*, a 1562 defence of the Elizabethan settlement that appeared in English translation two years later.[215] While Harding traces all of the evils currently afflicting the church back to Luther, his specific argument with Jewel is his adversary's purported dishonesty. The aim of this book, therefore, is to



TO THE RIGHT
MIGHTY AND EXCEL-
LENT PRINCESSE ELIZA-
BETH BY THE GRACE OF GOD
Quene of England, Fraunce, and
Irland, Defender of
the faith.

HAuing vvritten a confutation of a booke intituled *An Apologie of the church of England*, right excellent Princeſſe and my Soueraigne lady, for ſundry cauſes I haue ben moued of the ſame to make a preſent vnto your moſt excellent Maieſtie. Firſt, vvhereas that booke conteineth many great errours concerning the neceſſary doctrine of faith, beſide diuerſe vntruthes and ſlaunders touching ſundry eſtates and perſons, to no ſmal diſhonour of our countrie and offence of godly and honeſt hartes: the ſame being both commonly preached in your realme and to the vvhole vvorld ſet forthe vnder the name of the church of England: it ſemed to me conuenient, the confutation thereof be offered to that perſonage, to vvhom God hath geuen the rule and gouernement of England. Next, your learning and vviſedom being ſuch as the vvorld knovveth, I am perſuaded, that my trauail ſhalbe vvell vnderſtanded,

* 2 and

prove that Jewel's theology is heretical, and based on a faulty and indiscriminate interpretation of Scripture that ignores context in order to justify his own ends. In the final analysis, Harding demands to know by whose authority this new English church functions – God's or man's? Harding was not alone in questioning the historical basis for the Church of England. Numerous Catholic controversialists of the era, including the Jesuit, John Rastell (1532–1577), and Richard Broughton (d. 1634), asked where the English church was before Luther's appearance, forcing Anglican apologists to justify the claim that their Communion was the true incarnation of the primitive church. As one scholar has summarized it, for them 'the Reformation had not given birth to a new faith but had resurrected an apostolic and indeed an Abrahamic one.'[216]

The *Confutation* epitomizes the geographical and intellectual fissure established within English Christianity during the Elizabethan period, an alienation that would last until well into the twentieth century. With many Catholics now physically separated from their kinsmen, they were increasingly influenced by Continental theologians who often hailed from such enemy territories as Spain and France, confirming the popular impression that the exiles themselves were traitors. To counter that suspicion, Harding boldly dedicated his book to Queen Elizabeth herself, asserting that 'my meaning is as good, as faithful, and as dutiful, as I am bound, regarding chiefly (God is my record) next unto the truth of the cause, Your Maiesty's honour and security in the place and seat that God hath called you unto.' He goes on to suggest that 'if your Majesty will vouchsafe to read this Confutation, you shall see the crafty and untrue dealings of those who call themselves Gospellers disclosed, their chief grounds overthrown, their best proofs disproved, their manifest lies detected, their sundry errors confuted, the truth declared, and the parts of that doctrine proved true, which the Holy Ghost hath taught and continued in the church these nine hundred years.'[217] Jewel subsequently critiqued the *Confutation*, and challenged Catholics to answer his arguments. To their exasperation, however, Catholic responses were never published free of his ongoing commentary.

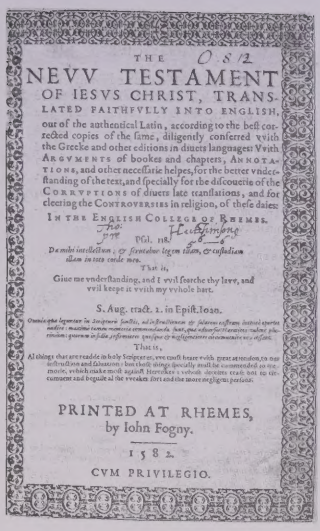
54 Nicholas Harpsfield (1519?–1575) and Alan Cope (d. 1578). *Dialogi sex contra Summi Pontificatus, monasticæ vitæ, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores, et pseudomartyres.* Antwerp: Christopher Plantin, 1566.

The religious controversialist and historian, Nicholas Harpsfield, is best remembered for this anonymous work, 'The Six Dialogues against the Opponents of the Supreme Pontiff, the Monastic Life, Saints, Sacred Images, and Pseudomartyrs.' While a student at

Oxford he came under the influence of William Roper (d. 1578), Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, and subsequently wrote a biography of More while studying at the Catholic University of Louvain, to which city he had moved after the accession of Edward VI. When Mary I became Queen and began the process of restoring England to Rome he returned home, and his career advanced rapidly. In March of 1554, six months after her coronation, Harpsfield replaced Thomas Cranmer's brother Edmund as Archdeacon of Canterbury.[218] In that capacity he presided over numerous heresy trials and was responsible for the execution of large numbers of Protestants, earning the scorn of the martyrologist John Foxe who described him as 'the sorest and of leaste compassion' of all of Mary's archdeacons.[219] His star was rapidly extinguished with the succession of Elizabeth I. In the autumn of 1559 he was stripped of all of his ecclesiastical offices, and was subsequently committed to Fleet Prison for refusing to sign the Oath of Supremacy.

It was while he was imprisoned that he wrote this mammoth text which is essentially a rebuttal of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* and *The Magdeburg Centuries*. With the encouragement of Cunerus Petri (d. 1580) the pastor of St Peter's Collegiate Church in Louvain, and William Lindanus (1525–1588), Bishop of Roermond, Alan Cope edited the text that Harpsfield had entrusted to him, seeing it through the famous Plantin Press in Antwerp. The only physical evidence that Harpsfield was actually responsible for the work appears on the final page that bears the legend 'A.H.L.N.H.E.V.E.A.C' meaning '*Auctor hujus libri, Nicolaus Harpsfeldus. Eum vero edidit Alanus Copus*.'[220] It would appear, however, that Cope was more than an editor, and probably rewrote large sections of the text, making his own additions as well as corrections.

A sense of the scale of the project may be gleaned from Plantin's own records. Wages and the paper order for the project were first entered on 17 March 1565 and concluded on 2 February of the following year at a total cost of 888 florins and 7 stivers. In the end about 1825 copies were printed at Cope's expense, with Plantin buying back a number of copies in March of 1566 that had previously been reserved for the editor.[221] The book was of course popular among Recusants, but had an effect on Protestants as well. Foxe took Harpsfield's criticisms to heart, and corrected the errors he had highlighted, but more importantly he expanded his text to counter all of his new arguments. Thus was Harpsfield inadvertently responsible for the creation of an even more detailed apologia for the Protestant movement, written in the more accessible vernacular.



THE
NEVV TESTAMENT
OF IESVS CHRIST, TRANS-
LATED FAITHFVLLY INTO ENGLISH,
out of the authentical Latin, according to the beſt cor-
rected copies of the ſame, diligently conferred vvith
the Greeke and other editions in diuers languages: Vvith
ARGVMENTS of bookes and chapters, ANNOTA-
TIONS, and other neceſſarie helpes, for the better vnder-
ſtanding of the text, and ſpecially for the diſcouerie of the
CORRVPTIONS of diuers late translations, and for
clearing the CONTROVERSIES in religion, of theſe daies.
IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE OF RHEMES.
Pſal. 118.
Da mihi intellectum, & ſcrutabor legem tuam, & cuſtodiam
illam in toto corde meo.
That is,
Giue me vnderſtanding, and I vvil ſearche thy lave, and
vvil keepe it vvith my vvhole hart.
S. Aug. tract. 2. in Epiſt. Ioan.
Omnia quæ legenter in Scripturis ſanctis, ad inſtructionem ſuæ ſalutis noſtram intelligat quiſquis
audiat: maxime tamen mandata commendata ſint, quæ ædificationi charitatis valent plu-
rimum; quorum in fide ſyncerissima, ſpe firmiſſima, & neglectorem omnimodis vacat offenſa.
That is,
Al things that are readde in holy Scripture, vve muſt learne vvith great attention, to our
inſtruction and ſalvation: but thoſe things ſpecially muſt be commended as vve-
morie, vvhich make moſt againſt heretickes: vvhoſe diſeaſes teach not to en-
tertaine and beguile al the vvorlde ſlyte and the more negligent perſons.
PRINTED AT RHEMES,
by Iohn Fogny.
1582.
CVM PRIVILEGIO.

55 *The Nevv Testament of Iesus Christ.* Rheims: Jean de Foigny, 1582.

At the Council of Trent it became a matter of heated debate whether the translation of the Bible into the vernacular would be a benefit or detriment to the Roman Church in the wake of the Protestant Reformation. Bishops on both sides of the divide argued passionately. The 1546 Decree of the Council of Trent, *Insuper*, officially designated the Latin Vulgate Bible of St Jerome to be the only one permitted for public reading, preaching, and exposition. A further papal edict issued in 1559 also sided with conservatives and formally forbade translation of the Scriptures into the modern languages.[222]

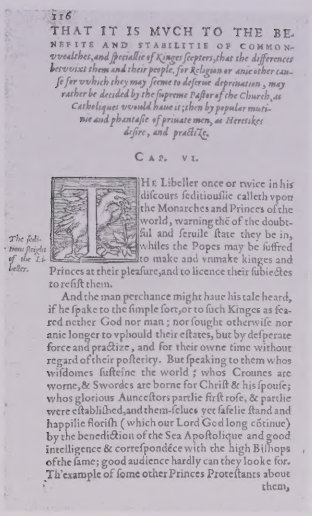
Given such restrictions, it is remarkable that a Catholic version of the Scriptures appeared in English in less than twenty-five years. In reality, its publication is a reflection of the desperation felt by exiled English Catholics who recognized that their co-religionists at home would not be able to withstand the lure of popular, easily accessible versions of the English Protestant Bible indefinitely, particularly the Geneva Bible. Because they had been persecuted for the practice of their faith at home, English Catholics established a seminary in Douai, France in 1568, from which they were evicted for political reasons in 1578. The seminary was re-established at Rheims later the same year, around the time that Father Gregory Martin (d. 1582), former Fellow of St John's College, Oxford, a Greek and Hebrew scholar, began his translation of the Vulgate into English.[223] In 1580, the seminary rector William Allen (1532–1594) successfully petitioned Pope Gregory XIII (1502–1585) to grant a dispensation to

allow the work to proceed to print in order to combat the influence of Protestantism at home.[224] Martin worked diligently at the project, translating two chapters each day, with the assistance of several other clerics, including Richard Bristow (1538–1581), Thomas Worthington (1549–1627), and William Reynolds (1544–1594).[225] Bristow and Allen also provided the numerous explanatory and polemical notes, aimed in part at combatting a similar apparatus in the Geneva Bible.[226] Martin died of consumption shortly after completing the project. Because the Rheims New Testament was a translation of a translation, it was considered an inferior product by those who had worked directly with the Hebrew and Greek. Nevertheless, the initial print run of Rheims was massive: five thousand copies were issued and smuggled into England as contraband, enraging Queen Elizabeth and her councillors.[227]

56 William, Cardinal Allen (1532–1594). A *True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques that Suffer for their Faith both at Home and Abrode.* [Rouen: Parson's Press, 1584].

William Allen was the *de facto* leader of English Catholicism during the Elizabethan era, albeit mostly from the safe distance of France and Rome. A fellow of Oriel College, Oxford as well as a Canon of York Minster Cathedral, he left England for Louvain in 1561, after refusing the Oath of Supremacy. A secret mission saw him briefly return to his home country, after which he permanently settled on the Continent. In 1567 he successfully petitioned Rome for permission to establish an English seminary in the city of Douai which opened its doors at Michaelmas of the following year. Its sole purpose was to prepare men for the great enterprise of the reconversion of England. At the same time he also turned his attention to the printing press, believing it could help him disseminate orthodox Catholic doctrine more efficiently, while simultaneously fortifying the flagging spirits of his co-religionists at home who were suffering persecution. He also concluded that the press was an essential part of his programme to convince Continental statesmen and clerics of the importance of the English mission. His *True, Sincere and Modest Defence* was printed in Rouen on the press established by the Jesuit priest Robert Parsons (1546–1610) and his associate George Flinton, for the production and distribution of controversial Catholic literature.[228] A great number of other individuals assisted Allen in his great endeavour, among them the seminary priest, Thomas Awfield, who transported over three hundred copies of this book from Flanders before being arrested and executed for treason in 1585.[229]

In *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholiques* Allen was scrupulous to avoid attacking the sacred person of the Queen


176
THAT IT IS MVCH TO THE BENEFITE AND STABILITIE OF COMMONweather, and ſpecialle of Kinges ſcepters, that the differences betwixte them and their people, for Religion or anie other cauſe for which they may ſeeme to deſerue deprivation, may rather be decided by the ſupreme Paſtor of the Church, as Catholiques would haue it then by popular mutine and phantaſie of priuate men, as Heretikes deſire, and practiſe.

CAP. VI.

The ſubiect treated of in the 6. Chapter.

HE Libeller once or twice in his diſcours ſeditiouſlie calleth vpon the Monarches and Princes of the world, warning thē of the doubtful and ſeruile ſtate they be in, whiles the Popes may be ſuffred to make and vnmake kinges and Princes at their pleaſure, and to licence their ſubiectes to reſiſt them.

And the man perchance might haue his tale heard, if he ſpake to the ſimple ſort, or to ſuch Kinges as feared nether God nor man; nor ſought otherwiſe nor anie longer to vphould their eſtates, but by deſperate force and practiſes, and for their owne time without regard of their poſterity. But ſpeaking to them whos wiſdomes ſuſteine the world; whos Crounes are worne, & Swordes are borne for Chriſt & his ſpouſe; whos glorious Auncеſtors partlie firſt roſe, & partlie were eſtabliſhed, and them-ſelues yet ſafelie ſtand and happilie floriſh (which our Lord God long eſtime) by the benediction of the Sea Apoſtolique and good intelligence & correſpondēce with the high Biſhops of the ſame; good audience hardly can they looke for. Th'example of ſome other Princes Proteſtants about them,

herself, whatever his own personal opinions about her may have been by this time. (In the wake of the execution of Edmund Campion in 1581, he had referred to her as 'our Herodias' who had bathed her hands in the 'brightest and best blood.')[230] Although she had been excommunicated by Pope Pius V in 1570, Allen chose to focus his criticism on her ministers instead, particularly Lord Burghley and Robert Dudley, Lord Leicester (1532–1588), for the injustices perpetrated against subscribers to the old religion. In it he catalogues the humiliations inflicted on his Catholic countrymen, with their unwarranted fines, imprisonments, and executions entered into evidence; and while he does not yet encourage active resistance to the current regime on the part of English Catholics, there are indications within the text that circumstances may be driving him in that direction.[231] By 1588, however, Allen assumes a much more truculent stance against his sovereign, openly comparing her to the Old Testament figure of Jezebel in his *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*. With the sailing of the Spanish Armada in that same year, he threw his full support behind the removal of Elizabeth I whom he now believed was the chief obstacle to the restoration of England to the Roman Catholic fold. In the end there can be no doubt that his political activities and writings actually contributed to, rather than lessened, the hardships experienced by those who clung to the Roman Church in England and Wales.

The Fisher copy of this book once belonged to the Quaker Benjamin Dockray (1786–1861), the author of *Remarks on Catholic Emancipation* (1829) and *On Mutual Tolerance* (1835). A correspondent of William Wordsworth (1770–1850), Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), and the reform-minded Catholic priest, John Lingard (1771–1851), Dockray was also an abolitionist and member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester.

57 Nicholas Sanders (1530?–1581). *De origine ac progressu schismatis Anglicani liber.* Cologne [i.e. Rheims, France: Jean de Foigny], 1585.

Like William Allen, Nicholas Sanders fled England for the safety of Louvain early in the reign of Elizabeth I after refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy. This book, which details the origin and progress of Henry's reformation of the church in England, was extraordinarily effective in persuading elite clerics and statesmen on the Continent that the movement had its origins not so much in a genuine desire for renewal as in carnality, avarice, greed, and brute force. Written in Latin, and later translated into Spanish, French, German, and Italian – though not English – Sanders's intention was to demonstrate that the English Church was in fact a Calvinist creature, imposed on the people from above rather than emerging from any groundswell desire for reform from below. He did not live to see his manuscript published, the responsibility for which fell to another priest, Edward Rishton (1550–1585), the first Englishman to matriculate at Douai. Rishton saw the book through the presses in 1585, the year of his own death from the plague.[232] Hagiography, biography, martyrology, as well as excerpts from official documents combine to weave a tale that proved so immensely popular on the Continent that it saw fifteen editions in its first ten years alone.[233] Besides providing a uniquely Catholic perspective on the English schism, Sanders's book also offered the prurient a window into Henry's bedroom, Wolsey's duplicity, Anne Boleyn's sensuality, and Catherine of Aragon's unflagging devotion. Among the more scandalous details he provides are the allegations that Anne was actually Henry's daughter as well as his concubine, and that she wore a bright yellow gown, instead of mourning, upon hearing news of Catherine's death (on display here). Because Sanders was dead by the time of its publication, it has always been difficult for scholars to prove the veracity of many of his claims, a large number of which appear to have derived from oral tradition alone.[234]

One of the most important narrative developments caused by this book was the shift of blame for the excesses of the English Reformation away from the Queen's ministers to Elizabeth I herself. As a result, possession of the book was a crime in England, something the French printers must have anticipated when they chose a small format octavo that could be easily concealed. Among those who distributed it clandestinely was Sanders's own sister who was arrested for her role in its dissemination. Linguistic restrictions combined with the royal ban to ensure that the volume would have limited influence in England, and it certainly never enjoyed the widespread popularity of Foxe's *Martyrs*, which had appeared as a fourth edition only two years earlier.[235] Sanders may in fact have consciously imitated its style, however, and certainly his viewpoint of this tumul-

tuous period in English history was better known and preserved on the Continent because of his *De origine* than Foxe's version would ever be.

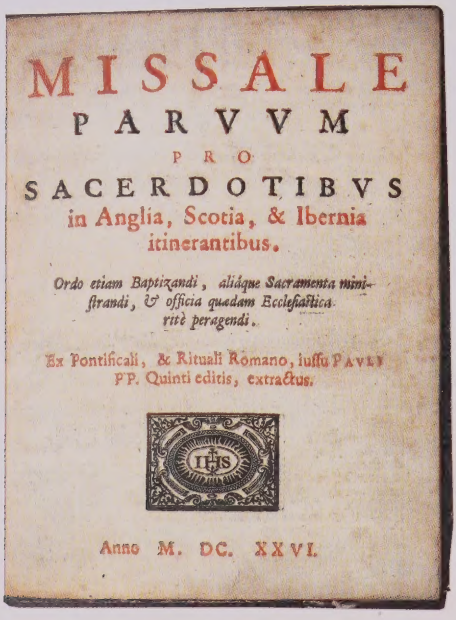
58 Robert Parsons (1546–1610). *A Christian Directorie Guiding Men to their Salvation.* Louvain: Laurence Kellam, 1598.

Although the clandestine printing of Catholic books in England during the Elizabethan period was a generally unsuccessful endeavour, the author of this book, Robert Parsons, was among the most adept at it. A Somerset Recusant, he had returned to England in 1580 as one of the first Jesuit missionaries committed to the reconversion of the island. His confrère, Edmund Campion (1540–1581), may have attempted to arouse enthusiasm for the old religion through his homiletical skills, but it was Parsons who sowed the seeds of political discontent through his writings.[236] While in England, he established a secret press at the home of Francis Browne, the brother of the Viscount Montague, in East Ham.[237] It was there that a Catholic printer, Stephen Brinkley, published at least six books bearing a false Louvain imprint until the press was destroyed. Undeterred, Parsons moved his theatre of operations to Stonor Park, about twenty miles from London, where two more books were printed before Brinkley was arrested and the press seized in August of 1581.[238] In that same year Parsons abandoned Britain and never saw his homeland again. One of the principal reasons he fled the country for Rouen, however, was 'to set up some sort of printing press in some place nearby where the books could be printed which are brought out by our fathers in English as circumstances call for them.'[239] Besides Rouen, Parsons also kept busy the presses of Paris, Douai, and, as in the present case, Louvain.

For the rest of his life Parsons attempted to alleviate the sufferings of his fellow Catholics in England from the safety of the Continent, encouraging the invasion of the island, and the deposition of the Queen. It was while he was on his earlier English mission, however, that Parsons had begun to write *A Christian Directorie*, more commonly known as *Parsons' Resolution*. The line between controversial and devotional literature was frequently blurred during the Reformation, given that prayers were intended to be instructive as well as inspirational, and this was something that Parson's book absolutely achieved. Solidly rooted in the Scriptures, as well as in the writings of St Augustine and St Bernard, Parsons offered his thoughts as a challenge to the new Anglican Church, daring it to produce similar authorities claimed by Rome to prove the antiquity of their doctrines. More importantly, it filled a devotional and spiritual need that had long been ignored by the more cerebral Reformers, doing so in such a way that the book became immedi-

ately popular among Protestants as well as Catholics, much to the consternation of the Queen's councillors.[240] It appeared in some forty editions between 1582 and 1640, with specifically Protestant editions adapted by the Calvinist Edmund Bunny (1540–1619) published from 1584 onwards. The Fisher copy is a faithful reprint of the original 1582 Catholic edition and directly addresses this Protestant anomaly with its 'reprose of the corrupt and falsified edition of the same booke lately published by M. Edmu. Buny.' Ironically, it would be the Protestant versions that would prevail in popularity, however, surpassing Catholic editions by 1600 by a factor of twenty-four to four.[241]

59 *Missale parvum pro sacerdotibus in Anglia, Scotia, & Ibernia itinerantibus.* [St-Omer: Charles Boscard], 1626.


MISSALE
PARVVM
PRO
SACERDOTIBVS
in Anglia, Scotia, & Ibernia
itinerantibus.
Ordo etiam Baptizandi, aliáque Sacramenta ministrandi, & officia quadam Ecclesiastica ritè peragendi.
Ex Pontificali, & Rituali Romano, iussu PAVLI PP. Quinti editis, extractus.
IHS
Anno M. DC. XXVI.

As noted by the Reformation historian Alexandra Walsham, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I 'hearing Mass was prohibited upon pain of a crippling fine, and the missionary priests whose activities were vital to the spiritual health of the faithful were hunted down, tortured, and executed.'[242] Being found with this book on one's person was one step towards the scaffold. With Elizabeth's accession, no new Roman Missals for use by English Catholic clergy were printed until 1615. This volume is a third edition of that text printed at St-Omer for the Jesuits, and bearing their insignia on the title page. It has several interesting new additions, including a post-partum blessing for mothers, a rite of emergency baptism for

infants, and exorcism rites, each of which give some sense of the duties of those itinerant priests who had the temerity to return to their native Britain. The size of the Missal emphasizes its portability as well as the relative facility with which it could be concealed. Included is the English translation of the Sarum Rite of matrimony, in which the bride promises that she will be 'bonaire and buxome, in bed and at bo[a]rd, till death us depart.' Since these Missals were contraband, they survive in relatively small numbers, with only about forty copies recorded in public institutions.

60 St Teresa of Avila (1515–1582). *The Flaming Heart.* Antwerp: John Meursius, 1642.

At the age of twenty, Teresa Sánchez de Cepeda y Ahumada entered the cloistered Carmelite convent in her native town of Ávila, Spain. Perturbed by the laxity with which the Rule was observed there, she set about to reform her community. Together with St John of the Cross she is credited with the foundation of the Discalced Carmelites, the first house of which was established in 1562. Besides her work as a reformer, Teresa is also one of the giants of Christian mysticism with her book *El Castillo interior* regarded as a spiritual classic by Catholics and Protestants alike. It was in this book, originally written in Spanish between 1562 and 1565, that Teresa tells the story of her own personal conversion and her work for the restoration of the Carmelites. In recognition of her influence she was named 'Doctor of the Church' by Pope Paul VI in 1970, and her name figures prominently among the luminaries of the Catholic Reformation.

The Carmelites are among the most ancient religious orders in the Catholic Church. They first arrived in England from the East in 1242 in the company of returning Crusaders, and at their height numbered some one thousand friars living and working in the British Isles. The last known Carmelite, George Rayner, died in prison in York towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. No foundation of Carmelite nuns was made in England before the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536, though a convent was subsequently established in Antwerp in 1619. Although this new house was strictly enclosed, it quickly became one of the major cultural and religious hubs for English Roman Catholics living on the Continent. Among their associates was a former Member of Parliament, Tobie Matthew (1577–1655), who translated Teresa's autobiography at their request. Matthew was the son of the Archbishop of York, Tobias Matthew, who served as Ordinary from 1606 to 1628. Through his work as an art broker Matthew the younger had come into contact with Recusants living throughout Europe, including

Father Robert Parsons, and under their collective influence he converted to Catholicism in 1607, and was subsequently ordained priest in Rome by Robert Bellarmine himself.[243] In spite of his recusancy he was twice permitted to return to his home country, and was even knighted by Charles I for his diplomatic services to the kingdom, an unheard of honour for a Catholic priest during those troubled years. In 1641 he was forced to leave his homeland for the last time and settled at the English Jesuit College in Ghent where he later died.

Matthew first came into contact with the Carmelites in 1619 when he translated into English the life of one of their more colourful members, the Italian mystic Mary Magdalene de Pazzi (1566–1607).[244] Although a translation of Teresa of Ávila's life had already been attempted in 1611, Matthew observes in the preface to this version that the translator, Michael Walpole (1570-ca. 1624), 'seemed to have lost a little of the puritie of his owne Englishe tongue' and 'not to have acquired enough of the Spanish.' It is Matthew's rendering of the saint's life, written at Ghent, that ultimately did so much to promote both the Teresian cult among English speakers in the years immediately following her 1622 canonization, as well as the popularity of English Catholic devotional works in general. Besides hagiography, Matthew was also responsible for translations of St Augustine's *Confessions* (1620) and *The Imitation of Christ* (1630). He maintained a close relationship with the nuns of the Antwerp Carmel for the rest of his life and in his Will, dated October 1647, he designated that after the payment of his just debts, the 'first money' from his estate should be used for the printing of 'all the workes of my glorious Mother St Teresa (whereof I translated the most part of, at the instance of my most deare and most deserving friend, Sister Ann of the Ascension, Religious of the English Teresian monestery att Antwerp), and that all I have in written hand, as an increase of portion to my deare late Novice Sister Ann of Jesus, all which are now in the said Monastery.'[245]

CASE VIII: PROPAGANDA

The power of the press was quickly harnessed by representatives of both the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation to sway the hearts and minds of Christians across Europe. Reasoned argument, selective historiography, biting satire, and bitter caricatures were all variously employed to justify and solidify allegiances, either to the new religious movements then sweeping across Christendom, or to the *ancien regime*. Not surprisingly, it was principally directed at those who might be wavering in their commitments, whether owing to internal doubts or external circumstances. Protestants were initially more successful in their campaign among the rank and file,

largely because of their use of simple woodcut illustrations and brief, focussed texts printed in the vernacular. Catholic apologists eventually responded to this situation by decreasing their dependence on Latin scholarly treatises in favour of short, vernacular lives of the saints, while allowing graphic representations of suffering martyrs to speak for themselves, especially in the detailed copper engravings that illustrated their books. In order to be successful, however, it was essential for propagandists from both camps to emphasize the torments of innocent believers, rather than those whose causes were compromised in some way by their political associations. The sufferings of militant English Jesuits and their associates, who had been condemned as enemies of the state, for example, were never as persuasive as the ordeals endured by the amiable Catholic housewife, Margaret Clitherow of York (1556–1586); nor was the fiery death of the wavering Archbishop Thomas Cranmer as moving as that of the plucky Scottish Covenanter, Margaret Wilson, who was drowned in 1685 in the Solway Firth. While it may be difficult to measure the success of such propaganda, there can be no doubt that it contributed to the popular mythology of the Reformation period.

61 Abbildung des Bapstum. [Wittenberg, 1545].

The innocuous title given to these caricatures, 'Image of the Papacy', conceals their scandalous character. In 1545, Luther published one of his most polemical works, *Wider das Papsttum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestiftet* [Against the Papacy at Rome, established by the devil]. These caustic broadsides likely originated in the workshop of Lucas Cranach, and were subsequently printed by Hans Lufft, with descriptive verses written by Luther, in order to complement his treatise. They are as scatological and vulgar as the text they accompany. Despite their profanity, Luther felt that Cranach's artists had not gone far enough, complaining in a letter to the theologian Nikolaus von Amsdorf (1483–1565) that 'he could have represented the pope in a more appropriate, that is to say, more diabolical fashion, but you can judge for yourself.'[246]

Illustrations like these were blunt instruments, devoid of the nuance of theological argument. Their strength was their ability to provoke hostility towards the old order, especially among the illiterate, and in that effort they were successful. An emotional attachment to Luther's movement was enhanced by cartoons such as these that elevated Luther to the status of a saint at the expense of the pope who is now depicted as Satan's spawn. The subject matter of the caricatures is generally self-explanatory. The one that is most complicated for modern viewers bears the title 'The monster of Rome found dead in the Tiber, 1496.' After weeks of torrential rain at the end of 1495, the Tiber River burst its banks, flooding the city of

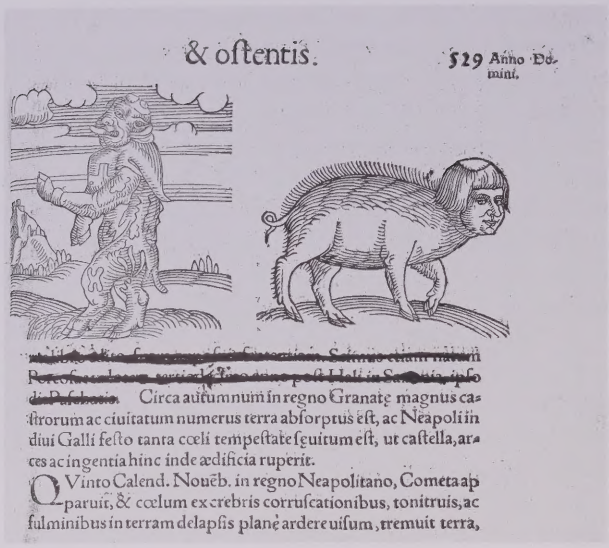
Rome. At the beginning of the New Year, rumours began to circulate that a monster had been found in the receding waters that had the head and body of an ass, the breasts and genitalia of a female, one cloven hoof and one claw for hind legs, with one human hand and the snout of an elephant's trunk serving as a second hand. Black scales covered most of the body, while a bearded man's face protruded from the backside, from which emerged a tail in the shape of a dragon's neck, at the end of which was the head of a serpent.[247]

Not surprisingly, this was seen as a portent of doom for Rome, and was effectively used as a symbol of papal corruption in the early Reformation period, with Melanchthon, for example, writing the pamphlet *Von dem Papst Esel zu Rom* (The Pope-Ass of Rome) in 1523, based on a Moravian engraving of the monster from 1498. Not surprisingly, all such images were subject to aggressive censorship. It is estimated, for example, that only eighteen copies of the original series of nine caricatures are still in existence in some form. The Fisher Library owns seven that survived the centuries hidden as pastedowns in a Saxon book binding dating from 1569.

62 Johann Eck (1486–1543). *Enchiridion locorum communium aduersus Lutherum, & alios hostes ecclesiæ.* Paris: Pierre Gaultier, 1549.

This *Enchiridion* refuting Lutheran doctrine was the most widely-circulated handbook of its kind in Catholic circles in the years prior to the Council of Trent, with its diminutive size emphasizing the portable nature of the book, in the early battle against the first Reformers. The author, Dominican friar Johann Eck, had represented Catholic interests at the famous Leipzig Disputation with Luther's colleague, Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541), a debate that took place in the spring and summer of 1519. It was Eck who actually invited Luther to join the contest, which he did in July, after which the topics for discussion were expanded from the already contentious issues of free will and grace to include purgatory, indulgences, penance, and papal authority. The conclusion of the Disputation was to have resulted in a judgment rendered by both the universities of Paris and Erfurt. In the end only the University of Paris actually condemned Luther's teaching, but without reference to the proceedings at Leipzig. It was Eck who also supplied a list of forty-one heresies committed by Luther that became the basis for the 1520 papal Bull, *Exsurge Domine*, threatening the Reformer with excommunication should he not recant.[248]

The *Enchiridion*, in which Eck comments on thirty-seven different points of disagreement between Catholics and Lutherans, was an immensely popular work from its first appearance in 1525. After nine revisions by Eck and Tilmann Smeling it assumed its final form in 1543 and over the following 170 years it would be reprinted 121 times in Latin, French, Flemish, and German, with sixty of those publications occurring before Eck's death in 1543. His arguments rely in large part on the writings of Thomas Netter (1380–1431), an English Carmelite, whose anti-Wycliffite writings were printed at Paris about this time, thereby linking Luther in the scholarly Catholic imagination with the fourteenth-century English heresiarch.[249]


& oſtentis. 529 Anno Domini.

Circa autumnum in regno Granatę magnus caſtrorum ac ciuitatum numerus terra abſorptus eſt, ac Neapoli in diui Galli feſto tanta cœli tempeſtate ſeuitum eſt, ut caſtella, arces ac ingentia hinc inde ædificia ruperit.

Quinto Calend. Nouēb. in regno Neapolitano, Cometa apparuit, & cœlum ex crebris corruſcationibus, tonitruis, ac fulminibus in terram delapſis planè ardere uiſum, tremuit terra,

63 Conradus Lycosthenes (1518–1561). *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon.* Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1557.

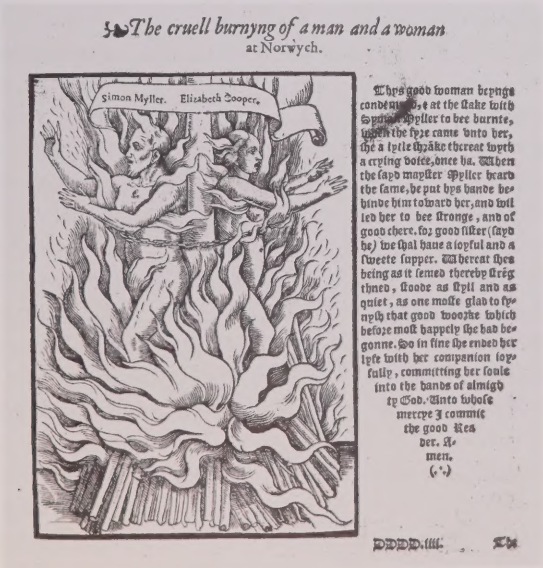
The Lutheran Conrad Wolffhart (who wrote using his Humanist name 'Lycosthenes') was a graduate of the reformed University of Heidelberg. While literature about signs and portents had been popular from ancient times, in this book Lycosthenes records those wonders that had supposedly materialized in Europe since the year 1500, corresponding neatly with the Reformation era. Not surprisingly, signs of God's displeasure with the Church had begun to manifest themselves in the emergence of freakish omens, such as the 'Monster of Rome' of 1496. As their contribution to the literature, Luther and his associate Melanchthon wrote about the appearance at Freiburg of a 'monk-calf' in their short 1523 treatise *Deuttung der czwo grewlichen Figuren, Bapstesels czu Rom und Munchkalbs zu Freijberg ijnn Meij*. According to their description, the creature walked on its hind legs, with flesh that looked like a cowl around its neck, clear evidence of divine condemnation of monastic life.[250] Lycosthenes depicts this abomination next to a woodcut of a 'pig priest' that he claims to have been born thirty years later at Hall in Saxony on Easter Day. Such portents were intended to enflame the reforming sensibilities of the people, and prepare them for the imminent coming of the Lord, whose signs these ultimately were. Propagandists of the Counter Reformation, however, used the very same legends and imagery to their advantage. Most famous was a broadside entitled *Ecclesia militans*, written by the Franciscan Friar Johannes Nasus (1534–1590) and published in 1567 by Alexander Weissenhorn in the Catholic stronghold of Ingolstadt, in which the

now-famous monk-calf is reinterpreted as a sign warning the people against the 'calf-like courage of Luther', while the pig-priest signified the 'Jew-loving Luther'.[251]

The printer, Heinrich Petri (1508–1579) was the son of Adam Petri, one of the great printers of Reformation Basel, who had in large part enriched himself through his edition of Luther's German Bible, which issued from his press in December of 1522. Although he was a physician by training, Heinrich continued his father's successful printing enterprise, visiting the Frankfurt Book Fair 108 times during the course of his career.[252]

64 John Foxe (1516–1587). *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Dayes.* London: John Day, 1563.

The persecution of English Protestants by the Roman Church is arguably best memorialized in this exhaustive, two-million word narrative, more commonly known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs.* The sufferings of the various Reformers related herein served to associate the new movement's adherents with the primitive saints as described in the Book of Revelation, and also helped to entrench the myth of a divinely ordained Protestant England. In collaboration with the great printer John Day (1522–1584), Foxe depicts a pageant of oppressed souls, stretching back in time to the Roman emperors, though with his focus firmly on the pope and his minions as heirs to those early pagan tormentors. As one scholar describes it, 'in Foxe's writings the papacy and Catholicism were, and had been from time immemorial, the perpetual enemy. The war between the persecuted church of God and the synagogue of Satan had been waged since


The cruell burnyng of a man and a woman at Norwych.

Simon Myller. Elizabeth Cooper.

Whys good woman beynge condemned, & at the stake with Symon Myller to bee burnte, when the fyre came vnto her, she a lytle shāke thereat wyth a crying voice, once ha. When the sayd maylter Myller heard the same, he put hys hande behinde him toward her, and willed her to bee stronge, and of good cheer. for good sister (sayd he) we shal haue a ioyful and a sweete supper. Whereat shee being as it semed thereby strēgthned, toode as stil and as quiet, as one mosse glad to fynysh that good woorke which before most happely she had begonne. So in fine she ended her lyfe with her companion ioyfully, committing her soule into the handes of almighty God. Vnto whose mercye I commit the good Reader. Amen.

the world began, but had climaxed in the sixteenth century, with the rise of Luther and the open confrontation between the true and the false Churches.'[253] Among its detailed accounts may be found reports of the executions of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley.

Foxe was well placed to write and promote his *magnum opus*. A fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, he had served as tutor to Thomas Howard (later the 4th Duke of Norfolk) in the mid–1540s before fleeing his homeland after the accession of Queen Mary. On the Continent he found work with the Protestant printer Joannes Oporinus at Basel, and was exposed to likeminded evangelicals who influenced his thought and encouraged his writing. After returning to England he found favour with Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, William Cecil, who essentially sponsored the present work. His activities with Oporinus had prepared him well for collaboration with John Day, who had been imprisoned under Mary, and was considered one of the most innovative printers of the new Elizabethan age.

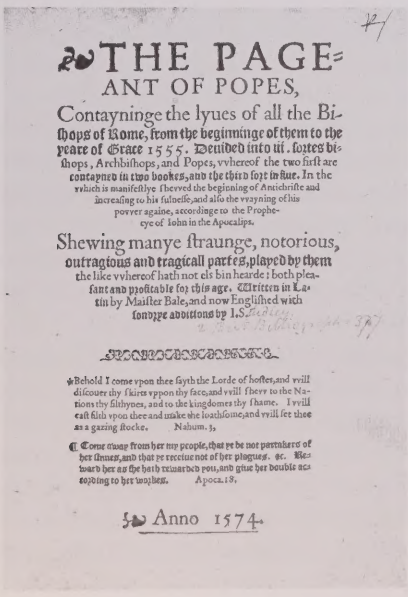
When first issued, Foxe's *Martyrs* was the largest publishing endeavour ever undertaken in Britain. It occupied all of Day's presses for eighteen months to the exclusion of every other project, with Day himself borrowing £500 to cover the cost of paper alone.[254] Foxe's interventions during the printing process are evident by the number of cancels and slip-cancels to be found in all of the editions printed during his lifetime, creating nightmare scenarios for later bibliographers.[255] The text grew dramatically in size and weight after the already lengthy first English edition of 1563 as the author responded to the charges of egregious error, some quite justifiably levelled against him by Catholic apologists such as Nicholas Sanders. Nevertheless, with the inclusion of official documents – some of which Day may have already secretly printed during Mary's reign[256] – eyewitness testimonies, and revision of its faults, Foxe and Day cemented the book's reputation as a source of trustworthy history, and the air of authority that it enjoyed in its early days was only reinforced by the fact that large sections of it were subsumed into the 1577 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*.[257] Together with Shakespeare and the Bible, it is one of the very few books never out of print in England before 1900. Not surprisingly, it had a very limited readership in Catholic Europe, which only served to bolster the domestic perception of Britain as an island refuge, blessed by Divine Providence and shielded from the self-evident errors of Rome. Foxe's determination to focus on the outrages committed against Protestants in England and Scotland helped to emphasize the obviously divine favour for the cause of godly reform in the British Isles.[258]

The sixteenth-century editions of Foxe are perhaps best remembered for their iconography. Woodcut images of torture and death, with diabolical-looking friars and patriarchal-looking martyrs,

added to the controversial nature of the book, and were intended to elicit an emotional and empathetic response from the viewer, especially those who were unable to read the text itself. In spite of the Calvinist injunction against imagery, it was not unusual to find the woodcuts sold separately and hung in family homes; and despite the expense (roughly 24 shillings per bound volume)[259] a copy of the book was placed in every cathedral in England, while its appearance among the bequests of ordinary citizens underlines its centrality to seventeenth-century Protestant piety.[260]

65 John Bale (1495–1563). *The Pageant of Popes.* London: Thomas Marsh, 1574.

John Bale began his religious life as a Carmelite friar, receiving both his Bachelor and Doctor of Sacred Theology degrees from Cambridge not long before the beginning of the English Reformation. Under the influence of his patron, Thomas, first Baron Wentworth of Nettlestead (1501–1551), he became a Protestant about the year 1536. Since his sympathies lay with the more radical wing of the new movement, Bale quickly became impatient with the slow pace of the reforms initiated by Henry VIII. After the Act of Six Articles was passed in 1539 reinforcing traditional orthodoxy, Bale went into exile on the Continent, and while there wrote several books of Protestant martyrology that would later serve as inspiration to John Foxe.[261] Bale has been criticized, however, for mixing mythology and history in his accounts in order to promote the idea that England's national character had always been sympathetic to the Protestant ideal,



THE PAGE=
ANT OF POPES,

Contayninge the lyues of all the Bi-
shops of Rome, from the beginninge of them to the
yeare of Grace 1555. Deuided into iii. sortes bi-
shops, Archbishops, and Popes, vvhereof the two first are
contayned in two bookes, and the third sort in fiue. In the
which is manifestlye shewed the beginning of Antichriste and
increasing to his fulnesse, and also the vvaynyng of his
povver againe, accordinge to the Prophe-
cye of Iohn in the Apocalips.

Shewing manye straunge, notorious,
outragious and tragicall partes, played by them
the like vvhereof hath not els bin hearde: both plea-
sant and profitable for this age. Written in La-
tin by Maister Bale, and now Englished with
sondrye additions by I.S.

Behold I come vpon thee sayth the Lorde of hostes, and vvill
discouer thy skirts vppon thy face, and vvill shevv to the Na-
tions thy filthynes, and to the kingdomes thy shame. I vvill
cast filth vpon thee and make the loathsome, and vvill see thee
as a gazing stocke. Nahum. 3.

Come away from her my people, that ye be not partakers of
her sinnes, and that ye receiue not of her plagues. &c. Re-
ward her as she hath rewarded you, and giue her double ac-
cordyng to her vvorkes. Apoca. 18.

Anno 1574.

especially in the period between the 'foundation' of the English church by Joseph of Arimathea and the arrival of Augustine of Canterbury, the first papal-appointed missionary to the island.

Bale's thesis about the institution of the papacy is clearly revealed on the title page to this work in which 'is manifestlye shewed the beginning of Antichriste and increasing to his fulnesse, and also the wayning of his power againe, according to the prophecye of Iohn in the Apocalips.' It is only appropriate, in Bale's opinion, that it should be Englishmen who would rise up to strike down papal power, since theirs was the nation of Constantine who first established true religion in the Roman Empire. Each pope is given a brief biography, the majority of which include a catalogue of their most egregious offences, such as that for Innocent III who 'did mischevouslye contrive many cruell tragedeys against Iohn of Englande.' Originally written in Latin for consumption beyond Britain's shores, it was translated into English by John Studley.

66 Giovanni Battista Cavalieri (1595–1597). *Ecclesiæ anglicanæ trophæa.* Rome: Bartolomeo Grassi, 1584.

Two places of worship in Counter-Reformation Rome are particularly associated with the Renaissance artist Nicolò Circignano (1520?–1596?): the Church of San Stefano Rotondo (once part of the German-Hungarian College) and the English College Chapel, both of which featured his gruesome frescos. The graphic depictions of the torments and deaths of Christian martyrs from the first to the sixteenth centuries were intended to inspire seminarians returning to their home countries to face persecution at the hands of Protestants with the same zeal as the saints who had gone before them. After viewing the scenes in San Stefano, Charles Dickens wrote that 'such a panorama of horror and butchery no man could imagine in his sleep, though he were to eat a whole pig raw, for supper. Grey-bearded men being boiled, fried, grilled, crimped, singed, eaten by wild beasts, worried by dogs, buried alive, torn asunder by horses, chopped up small with hatchets: women having their breasts torn with iron pinchers, their tongues cut out, their ears screwed off, their jaws broken, their bodies stretched upon the rack, or skinned upon the stake, or crackled up and melted in the fire: these are among the mildest subjects.'[262]

This catalogue of Circignano's thirty-four frescos, with engravings by Cavalieri, records the cycle of death and spiritual triumph devised by the artist as it originally appeared on the walls of the Venerable English College. The first twenty-four panels depict martyrs up to the reign of Henry VIII with the last ten devoted to those who had died during the English Reformation itself. The last painting represents the death of Richard Thirkeld who was executed

A. Edmundus Campianus societatis Iesu sub patibulo concionatur, statimq; cum Alexandro Brianto Rhemensis, et Rodulpho Sheruino huius Collegij alumno suspenditur.

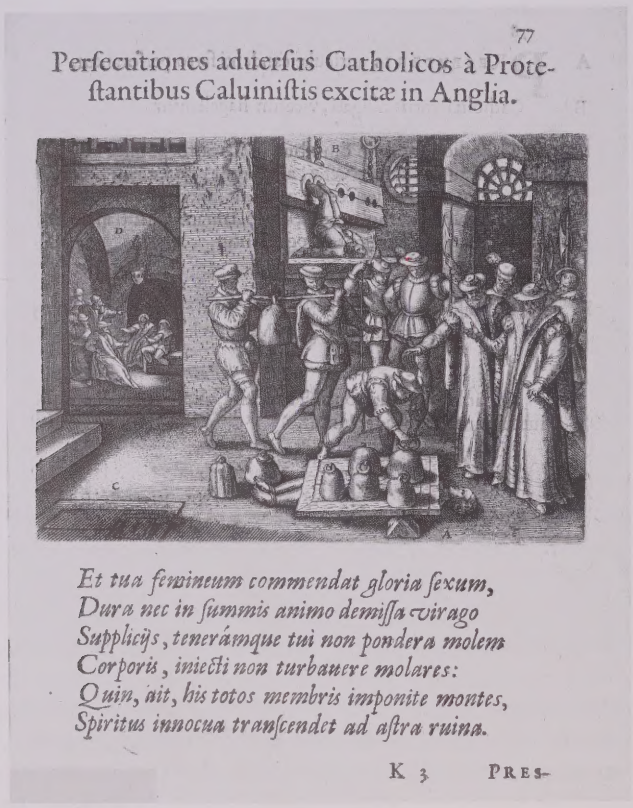
B. Illis adhuc tepentibus cor et uiscera extrahuntur, et in ignem proijciuntur.

C. Eorundem membra feruenti aqua elixantur, tum adurbis turres et portas appenduntur, regnante Elizabetha Anno M.D.LXXXI. die prima Decembris. Horum constanti morte aliquot hominum millia ad Romanam Ecclesiam conuersa sunt. 33

at York in May of 1583, indicating that Circignano 'was working in the manner of a war artist who recorded in these final scenes the reports received from the battlefield.'[263] Equally hasty was the publication of this book by the priests of the English College in June of 1584, less than a year after the chapel decoration was completed, thereby extending the propaganda value of the paintings beyond the college precincts.[264] The frescos were lost when the chapel was destroyed at the end of the eighteenth century making this volume all the more important since it was used to reproduce the series when the adornment of the new chapel were completed in 1893.[265]

The artist's imagery is cleverly and deliberately provocative. The saints' executioners are generally depicted in the dress of ancient Roman centurions, thereby linking their sufferings with those who first gave their blood for the life of the church. At the same time,

those being martyred and the watching crowd are shown in Tudor dress, making it abundantly clear that these horrors were occurring in the here and now. They can only be fully appreciated against the backdrop of the Herculean struggle between representatives of the English Catholic Church and the claims of Bale and Foxe, with each professing to be the true heirs of the apostolic community in Britain stretching back in time to the legend of Joseph of Arimathea. The illustrations, however, were intended to do much more than merely inspire Catholic divinity students. They were also designed to encourage the military invasion of England such as would occur four years later with the Spanish Armada.[266]


77

Perſecutiones aduerſus Catholicos à Proteſtantibus Caluiniſtis excitæ in Anglia.

Et tua fœmineum commendat gloria ſexum,
Dura nec in ſummis animo demiſſa virago
Supplicijs, tenerámque tui non pondera molem
Corporis, iniecti non turbauere molares:
Quin, ait, his totos membris imponite montes,
Spiritus innocua tranſcendet ad aſtra ruina.

K 3 PRES-

67 Richard Verstegan (ca. 1550–1640). *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis*. Antwerp: Adrien Hubert, 1588.

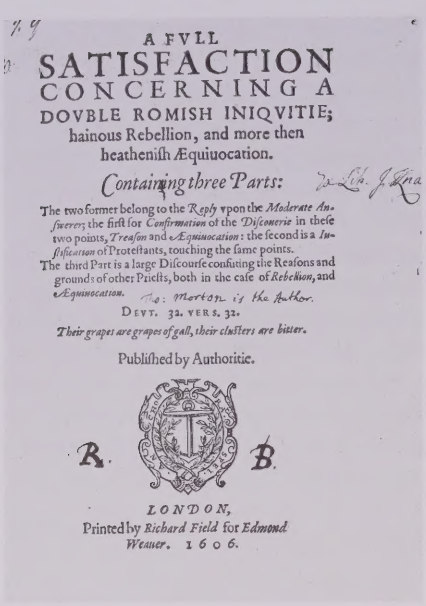
Unlike *Ecclesiæ anglicanæ trophæa*, this book was not intended to inspire the faithful to martyrdom so much as to rouse in them a sense of indignant horror at Protestant atrocities. The book was designed in four distinct parts by Verstegan so that they could be

sold separately if so desired.[267] The first part deals with the persecution of Catholics under Henry VIII; the second by the Huguenots during the first Civil War in France in 1562; the third by Calvinist soldiers under William of Orange against Flemish Catholics; and the last, the abuse of Irish and English Catholics under Elizabeth I. By far, the most violent illustrations appear in parts two and three, and while the images are self-explanatory, each also has a six-line hexametre verse composed by Johannes Bochius, Town Secretary of Antwerp, reflecting on the sorrowful scene displayed. Beneath the only known image of the execution of Margaret Clitherow, the York martyr, for example, he writes 'Female sex, your reputation commends you also. The stout heroine was not dejected even in the midst of extreme torture. The weights and millstones did not disquiet your tender body. No, she said, "Place mountains upon my limbs. My innocent spirit shall pass through the ruins of my body and reach the stars".' Each engraving includes a legend with letters corresponding to a description on the facing page that editorializes as well as explains the scene.

Verstegan purposely called his work a 'theatre' since, as he explains, 'the eye is held by pictures, and what is brought before the eyes has greater effect than that which is brought to the ears.' The intentionally repugnant character of the illustrations combined with their poetic reflections to serve as a 'thinly disguised political and military manifesto for Philip II' who governed Flanders at this time.[268] Verstegan established himself at Antwerp in 1587, only two years after the city had been reclaimed from the Calvinists by Spanish Catholic forces. In that same year he published the first edition of this book, shortly after the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots 'the legitimate heir to the English crown.' Not surprisingly, that tableau features last in the *Theatrum*. The work, which saw eight editions in twenty-two years, and inspired other contemporary Catholic propagandists such as Michael ab Isselt (d. 1597) and Lawrence Beyerlinck (1578–1627) has been described by some scholars as an 'Armada pamphlet.' By means of it Verstegan was helping to provide Catholic Europe with a justification for the invasion of England in response to the sufferings of the English Catholics depicted herein. The unsuccessful invasion was, of course, actually attempted in the year that this edition appeared.

68 Thomas Morton (1564–1659). *A Full Satisfaction concerning a Double Romish Iniquitie; Hainous Rebellion, and more then Heathenish Æquiuocation.* London: Richard Field, 1606.

The impetus for the writing of this book was the failed attempt by Guy Fawkes and his associates to destroy the Houses of Parliament



A FVLL
SATISFACTION
CONCERNING A
DOVBLE ROMISH INIQVITIE;
hainous Rebellion, and more then
heathenish Æquiuocation.

Containing three Parts:

The two former belong to the *Reply* vpon the *Moderate Answerer*; the first for *Confirmation* of the *Discouerie* in these two points, *Treason* and *Æquiuocation*: the second is a *Iustification* of Protestants, touching the same points.
The third Part is a large Discourse confuting the Reasons and grounds of other Priests, both in the case of *Rebellion*, and *Æquiuocation*. Tho: Morton is the Author.

DEVT. 32. VERS. 32.
Their grapes are grapes of gall, their clusters are bitter.

Published by Authoritie.

R. B.

LONDON,
Printed by *Richard Field* for *Edmond Weauer*. 1606.

in London on 5 November 1605. In the wake of that near-disaster the penalties against Catholics in England were immediately increased. The fine for recusancy, for example, was raised to an oppressive £60 *per annum*; Catholics were disqualified from inheriting land through marriage; and they were prohibited from practising as physicians or lawyers. The most contentious measure, however, was the imposition of an Oath of Allegiance binding Catholics to confess that 'the Pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the Church or see of Rome... has any power to depose the King ... or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to His Majesty.'[269] The taking of oaths had become a point of controversy over the previous century. A casuistry had been developed by some clerics asserting that it was possible for Catholics to be 'economical' with the truth if it meant protecting themselves and their co-religionists. An oath might therefore be taken with the lips but not embraced with the heart, in a practice that came to be known as 'equivocation.'[270] The Jesuit Henry Garnet (1555–1606), arrested for his alleged involvement with the plotters, had even written a treatise on the subject that was entered into the record of his trial in 1606.

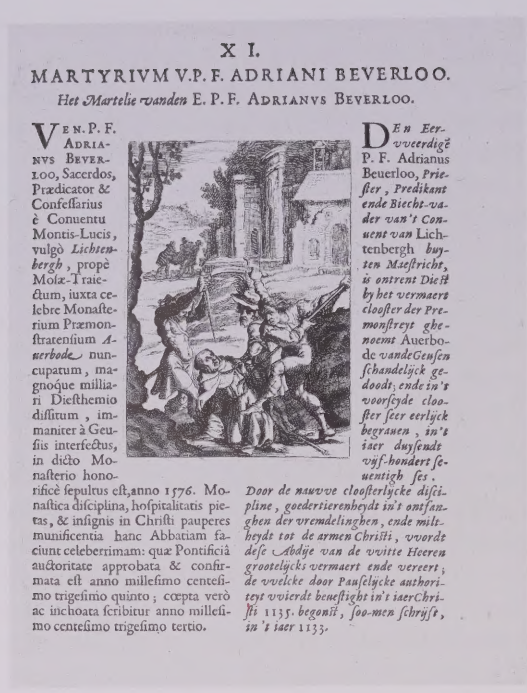
The doctrine of 'equivocation' was used by Protestant controversialists to demonstrate that Catholics were essentially proto-'fifth-columnists', and beyond the trust of law-abiding English subjects. Thomas Morton, a political theorist and one of the King's chaplains, was foremost in propagating this caricature of all Catholics as inherently deceitful in this book published shortly after the trial and executions of Fawkes's co-conspirators.[271] The Jesuit priest Robert Parsons responded in kind with two apologies for his fellow

Catholics: *A Treatise Tending to Mitigation* and *A Quiet and Sober Reckoning with M. Thomas Morton*. The Jesuits generally maintained that the oath was sacrilegious and urged resistance; most secular priests, on the other hand, felt that the oath was innocuous, and believed taking it might even lead to greater toleration. In the end, the division among the Catholic clergy on this point only served to prove, at least in the minds of partisans, that members of the old religion were at best unreliable. Morton was appointed Bishop of Durham for his services to the Crown and wrote two other books on the subject, *An Exacte Discoverie of Romish Doctrine in the Case of Conspiracie and Rebellion* (1606) and *A Preamble unto an Incounter with P.R. Concerning the Romish Doctrine of Rebellion and Equivocation* (1608). He survived the English Civil War, dying shortly before the Restoration of the monarchy.

The printer, Richard Field (1561–1624), was born in Stratford-upon-Avon and became one of the leading Stationers of London. He is best remembered for his publication of fellow townsman William Shakespeare's earliest printed works *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and the *Rape of Lucrece* (1594), as well as a number of the playwright's principal literary sources including Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587), Plutarch's *Lives* (1595 and 1603), and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1589).

69 Jan Boener (1591–1643?). *Delineatio historica Fratrum Minorum Prouinciæ Germaniæ Inferioris, a Geusiis in odium fidei crudeliter occisorum.* Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, Balthasar Moretus, 1635.

This very rare quarto records the sufferings of the Franciscan Friars in the Low Countries, principally at the hands of an extremist branch of the Calvinists known as the 'Geuses', during the internecine wars of the 1570s and 1580s. The author, Jan Boener, was a priest of the Order from the Province of Mechelen, who was well-connected by his sister's marriage to civil authorities in the area. He clearly drew his inspiration, at least in part, from the illustrated martyrology composed by the Anglo-Dutch Catholic publisher and engraver, Richard Verstegan (see above), with a complicated *mise-en-page* equal to those found in that earlier work. Each leaf features a single, unsigned etching framed by text in Latin and Flemish, requiring the use of two presses – one for type, and the other for engraving – which would have presented a constant challenge for registration. Somewhat ironically, the gruesome depictions of the martyrdoms are juxtaposed against rather charming background views of the Flemish land- and cityscapes. On display is the 1576 execution of Adrian Beverloo, a priest of the Convent of Lichtenbergh near Diest in the province of Flanders. Beverloo was one of the victims of the Geuses, a band of Protestant radicals hailing from



X I.

MARTYRIVM V.P. F. ADRIANI BEVERLOO.

Het Martelie vanden E. P. F. ADRIANVS BEVERLOO.

VEN. P. F. ADRIANVS BEVERLOO, Sacerdos, Prædicator & Confeſſarius è Conuentu Montis-Lucis, vulgò *Lichtenbergh*, propè Moſæ-Trajectum, iuxta celebre Monaſterium Præmonſtratenſium *Auerbode* nuncupatum, magnoque milliari Diesthemio diſſitum, immaniter à Geuſiis interfectus, in dicto Monaſterio honorificè ſepultus eſt, anno 1576. Monaſtica diſciplina, hoſpitalitatis pietas, & inſignis in Chriſti pauperes munificentia hanc Abbatiam faciunt celeberrimam: quæ Pontificiâ auctoritate approbata & confirmata eſt anno milleſimo centeſimo trigeſimo quinto; cœpta verò ac inchoata ſcribitur anno milleſimo centeſimo trigeſimo tertio.

DEN Eerwaerdigē P. F. Adrianus Beuerloo, *Prieſter, Predikant ende Biecht-vader van't Conuent van* Lichtenbergh *buyten Maeſtricht, is ontrent Dieſt by het vermaert clooſter der Premonſtreyt gheneomt* Auerbode *vande Geuſen ſchandelijck gedoodt; ende in't voorſeyde clooſter ſeer eerlijck begraven, in't iaer duyſendt vyf-hondert ſeuentigh ſes.*

Door de nauwe clooſterlycke diſcipline, goedertierenheydt in't ontfanghen der vremdelinghen, ende miltheydt tot de armen Chriſti, vvorde deſe Abdije van de vvitte Heeren grootelycks vermaert ende vereert; de vvelcke door Pauſelycke authoriteyt vvierdt beueſtight in't iaer Chriſti 1135. begonſt, ſoo-men ſchrijft, in 't iaer 1133.

the region of Ghent and Bruges, who claimed the right to kill Catholic clergy on sight, destroy church buildings and monasteries, and generally disrupt Catholic life and worship throughout the area. The Geuses were in fact sailors commissioned by William I (1533–1584) of the House of Orange, and were easily identifiable by their broad-brimmed hats on which was written the inscription 'Liever Turcx dan Pausch' – Better a Turk than a Papist.[272]

The Officina Plantiniana had been the principal publishing house for Counter-Reformation authors in the Low Countries since 1585 when the city of Antwerp had reverted to Spanish Catholic control. In 1610, Balthasar Moretus (1574–1641) inherited the directorship of the press established by his grandfather, Christophe Plantin, and his career there bears particular witness to his interest in illustrated books. Archival records preserved at the Plantin-Moretus Museum, for example, record him giving detailed instructions about the design of illustrated title pages to Peter Paul Rubens himself.[273]

The Fisher copy was previously owned by Sir Samuel R. Meyrick (1783–1848) the English antiquarian who also introduced the systematic study of arms and armour.

REVERBERATIONS: THE EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION IN NORTH AMERICA

The political and religious tumult that swept across Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not confined to the borders of the Continent and the British Isles. Persecution and disenfranchisement caused many Protestants, and even some Catholics, to look to the New World as the ideal place to build their New Jerusalem. Chief among these were the Puritans and the Huguenots, spiritual descendants of Calvin and the Swiss Reformers, who began arriving in large numbers in North America in the 1630s and 1640s. In time their numbers were swelled by Baptists, Quakers, Mennonites, and other Christians who hoped for better lives across the Atlantic. Catholics, under the direction of the convert, George Calvert (1579–1631), 1st Baron Baltimore, also left England in hope of establishing a colony where they could practise their faith undisturbed on the Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland in 1625. The harshness of the climate there, however, caused the colony to fail, and so Baltimore and his associates pressed on to what would become Maryland in 1634. The intolerance of the Old World, however, was often enflamed with the arrival of these new settlers, and religious minorities were regularly forced to leave established centres, like Boston, to found new communities, like Providence, where they might worship and live in relative peace. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, the Catholics of Maryland who had lived in relative, though hardly absolute, peace for fifty years, once again became subject to the old Penal Laws of Britain.

In the New World, interest in missionary activity was renewed by the decrees of the Council of Trent, after which Roman Catholics began exporting their religious and social institutions from Spain to Mexico in the sixteenth century, and then from France to the Québec, Acadian, and Louisiana territories in the seventeenth. Their aim was not only to bring spiritual comfort to colonists, but also to indoctrinate the Indigenous peoples living in what were now deemed parts of their new empires. While some Huguenots attempted to make lives for themselves in the Québec and Port Royal colonies, Protestant worship was completely forbidden in New France by 1659, and although some Huguenots conformed to the majority religion, many more left for the English colonies to the south.

One of the consequences of this gathering of so many disaffected believers in North America, however, was that it led to further religious splintering among Protestants, with such homegrown denominational varieties appearing over time as the Church of Christ, Seventh-Day Adventism, Mormonism, and Christian Science. The printing press continued to play an essential role in stimulating the European imagination with regards to the possibilities for religious

expansion and indoctrination in a New World. It also helped to spread the doctrines of new movements that were truly North American in character.

70 Jérôme Lalemant, S.J. (1593–1673). *Relation de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable és missions de peres de la Compagnie de Iesus, en la Nouvelle France es années 1645 & 1646.* Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy, 1647.

Ignatius of Loyola established the Society of Jesus in 1534 in part as a response to the threats posed by the Protestant reformers. Equally as important in that great age of exploration, however, was that the Jesuits should participate in the conversion to the Catholic faith of the newly-discovered lands in North and South America. To that end, therefore, the Jesuits arrived in New France in 1611, a mere three years after a colony had been founded by Champlain at Québec. Its members rapidly established mission posts throughout the Huron nation, as far west as Georgian Bay. Among the luminaries of the Order was St Jean de Brébeuf (1593–1649) who worked almost exclusively among the Indigenous people, immersing himself in their culture and learning their language to such an extent that he supervised the production of a Huron dictionary and grammar. In spite of such concentrated efforts at enculturation, their success, especially in those early years, was limited. Hostilities between the Huron and the Iroquois, who were allies of the English Protestants in the American colonies, and the spread of diseases brought by the Europeans, hampered the progress of the mission.

One of the most important weapons in the Jesuit arsenal to shore up European support for their missionary work in Canada, however, was the annual publication from 1632 to 1673 of their *Relations*, the collection of letters and reports that informed Jesuit superiors, and more importantly the French population, about what exactly was being achieved in their name. Eight Jesuit superiors of the Québec foundation gave their imprimaturs to the *Relations* over their forty-year history, with the Fisher copy bearing the approbation of Jérôme Lalemant (1593–1673), who served as Provincial Superior from 1645 to 1650. They are still considered the richest resource for understanding the Native population of North America in the seventeenth century, even by those who see in the *Relations* the *prima facie* evidence of European efforts to destroy the ancient civilizations of the 'New World.'[274]

The practice of letter-writing was in fact not a mere pleasantry, but a central feature of Jesuit discipline. In his *Constitutiones*, Ignatius observed that 'still another very special help will be found in the exchange of letters between the subjects and the superiors, through which they learn about one another frequently and hear

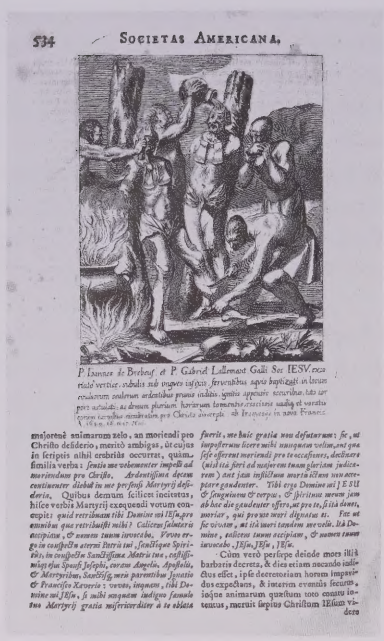
the news and reports which come from the various regions. The superiors, especially the general and the provincials, will take charge of this, by providing an arrangement through which each region can learn from the others.'[275] The *Relations* sent from Québec thus complied with Ignatius's wishes, but also made for very popular reading in France. At twenty *sols* per copy the published books were eminently affordable, and the numerous pirated editions printed at Lille and Avignon confirm the exceptional demand for such exciting narratives that allowed 'readers to vicariously experience the voyage for themselves.'[276]

The second part of this 1647 edition, written by the Superior of the Huron mission, Paul Ragueneau (1608–1680), deals in large part with the local economy, culture, and activities of the Jesuits in and around the foundation of Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons (near present-day Midland, Ontario) which had been established by Lalemant in 1639. Faithful to the aims of the Counter-Reformation, Ragueneau confirms that 164 natives had been baptized in the course of the previous year. The editions of the *Relations* from the 1640s are particularly important since they detail the interactions of Europeans and Natives in present-day Ontario in the decade leading up to the 1649 destruction of the Huronia mission, an event precipitated by the execution of priests, lay workers, and native members of the Sainte-Marie mission, including Brébeuf and Lalemant's nephew Gabriel, at the hands of the Iroquois in late winter of that year.

71 Matthias Tanner (1630–1692). *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitæ profusionem militans.* Prague: Typis Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandeæ, 1675.

The translated title of this book aptly summarizes its content: 'The Society of Jesus, Militant even unto the Shedding of Blood and Life.' As noted above, the Jesuit exploits and challenges were regularly communicated back to Europe from the farthest reaches of the earth in what came to be known as their *Relations*. Among the most prominent features of these reports were the accounts of the perils and sufferings experienced by members of the young Order, both at home and abroad, and in large part they provided the content for this illustrated book by Matthias Tanner.

Developing a 'spirit of martyrdom' was something that had been encouraged by Ignatius in his *Spiritual Exercises*, and the number of martyrs the new Order produced all around the globe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was considered evidence both of the Church's catholicity, as well as the validity of its traditions in a fractured Christendom. Tanner was a Bohemian Jesuit who exercised most of his ministry in Prague.[277] Rather than organize the

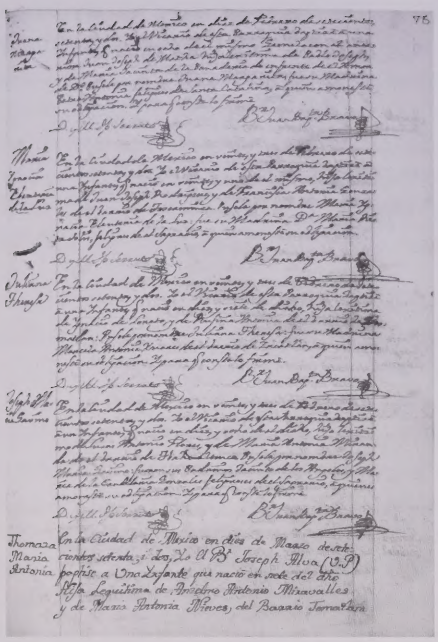


book chronologically, he presented the sufferings of his fellow Jesuits geographically by continent. In many ways, a martyrology of this kind is effectively interchangeable with the others produced during the same era. It has been argued, however, that what distinguishes this volume from those others is Tanner's thesis: that these deaths are to be celebrated as contributing to a greater good rather than used to cast aspersions on the tormentors.[278]

Each section of the volume is introduced by an allegorical representation of Virtue who sometimes appears in perfect peace on a battlefield, or at other times is watering her garden with the blood of the faithful, echoing the adage of Tertullian that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church.' The original drawings by Karel Škréta (1610–1675) and engraved by Melchior Küsel (1626–1683) communicate a quiet dignity, and rarely exhibit the violent excesses found in similar publications produced before the end of the Thirty Years War. Nevertheless, the images of the violent encounters between Jesuits and the Indigenous peoples of the Americas and Asia, though beautifully rendered, reinforced the Eurocentric character of the church and the perception of non-Europeans as savages.

72 Baptismos de Indios desde henero de 1768 hasta agosto de 1775. Mexico, 1768–1775.

In the wake of the Council of Trent there was a renewed commitment by the Catholic Church to the establishment of missions



beyond the bounds of Europe, notably in the colonies belonging to France, Portugal, and Spain, with the church and state reinforcing each other's authority. According to the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494) Spain was given control of the western part of the Americas, and while the Treaty did not resolve all outstanding issues between the Catholic powers, it effectively established the cultural hegemony that still prevails in Central and South America. Until the nineteenth century, it was Spanish and Portuguese missionaries who largely provided for the spiritual, educational, and medical needs of the local populations until a native-born clergy finally started to emerge. This Spanish manuscript records the baptisms of the Indigenous people served by the priests of the parish of San Sebastián Mártir between the years 1768 and 1775. The mission had been established in the heart of Mexico City by Franciscan friars in the sixteenth century. They surrendered the parish to the Carmelites in 1568, and they in turn relinquished it to the Augustinians.

In 1563 the Council of Trent mandated the regular maintenance of baptismal registers, listing the names of child, parents, and godparents. This register from San Sebastián is typical of those kept by the Mexican church during the reign of the Bourbons. Both civil and ecclesiastical record-keeping was meticulous at this time, and it was common practice to retain three separate registers for the three cultural groups prevalent in the country: Spaniards, mulattos, and as in this case, Indians. The names of the Indian children are recorded without surnames, since the use of a patronymic was still not the common practice in the eighteenth century, unless it had been

imposed by a priest. The fee for baptism was the same for all – one peso. For marriages, however, the Spanish were charged eight pesos, Mulattos, four pesos, and Indians one.[279] Similar ethnic stratification, known as the *casta*, was also evident in the church's burial practices with Spaniards buried inside their churches close to the altar rail, while the Indigenous population was buried outside of the building. Thus both the registers and the liturgical practices of the church actively reinforced European ascendancy in the New World.

73 Roger Williams (1604?–1683). *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody.* London: Giles Calvert, 1652.

The author of this treatise on religious toleration, Roger Williams, was a Baptist who had first fled religious persecution in England before encountering it again at the hands of Puritans in Massachusetts. He wrote this work in fits and starts from the relative comfort of the new colony of Rhode Island that he had founded for his renegade community, and completed the text on a return visit to London. Contrary to the common wisdom of his day, Williams could see no point in fining, jailing, or executing anyone for his or her religious beliefs. Addressing the work to 'the Right Honourable Both Houses of the High Court of Parliament', he claimed that an enforced uniformity of religion throughout a nation only served to frustrate the principles of Christianity and civility. He closed his work complaining about enforced conversions:

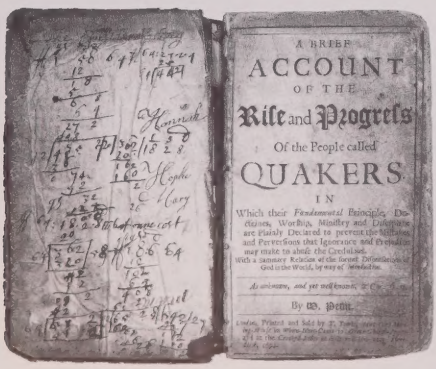
> What now, shall there be wrackt, their Soules, their Bodies, their purses, etc.? Yea, if they refuse, deny, oppose the Doctrine of Christ Jesus, whether Jewes or Gentiles, why should you call for Fire from Heaven, which suits not with Christ Jesus his Spirit or Ends? Why should you compell them to come in, with any other Sword, but that of the Spirit of God, who alone perswaded Japhet to come into the Tents of Shem, and can in his holy season prevaile with Shem to come to the Tents of Japhet?[280]

His tolerance extended not only to other Protestants, but to Catholics, Jews, and even to Muslims and pagans. England's *Act of Toleration* written some fifty years later would certainly go nowhere near this far.[281] Having been subjected to such persecution in New England, Williams adamantly refused to acknowledge its usefulness, maintaining that in fact there was much gold among the dross of religious plurality. It is not surprising that all accessible copies of Williams's first edition were burned publicly in London in August of 1644.[282] Nevertheless, his philosophy is considered the basis for the

ideals of tolerance enshrined in both the Declaration of Independence and the First Amendment of the American Constitution. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts pardoned Williams for his 'offences' in 1936.[283]

74 William Penn (1644–1718). *A Brief Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers.* London: Tace Sowle, 1694.

While the English Civil War (1642–1651) was fundamentally a struggle between Anglicans and non-Conformists, not all Britons felt that they belonged to one group or the other. Some, like George Fox (1624–1691), the founder of 'The Society of Friends' or the Quakers, believed that neither faction represented a pure form of Christianity, since both required clergy of some sort to serve as mediators between humans and God. Based on the doctrine of the common priesthood found in the First Epistle of Peter, however, Fox maintained that every believer possessed the 'inward light of divinity, or the indwelling Christ.'[284] The form of worship he proposed eschewed liturgy of any kind in favour of quiet meetings during which anyone, male or female, might be inspired with a word of wisdom to be shared with the assembly. His practical theology meant that all believers were equal, and showing deference to persons and rank was rejected. It was this tenet that often caused the greatest problems for this peace-loving sect, since Quakers insisted on using the familiar second-person singular form of address ('thee' and 'thou') for everyone, regardless of their station; they refused to doff their hats to social superiors; and they declined to return the greeting of 'Good morning' since it implied an interest in carrying on a conversation when interior silence was always to be preferred.[285] For all of these reasons, as well as their refusal to take oaths or join the military, they were a frequently persecuted group. The 'Quaker Act' of 1662 and the 'Conventicle Act' of 1664 were both

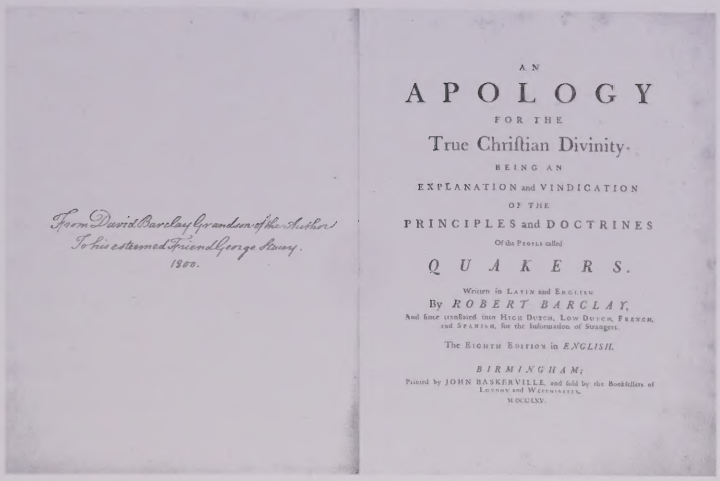

A BRIEF
ACCOUNT
OF THE
Rise and Progress
Of the People called
QUAKERS
IN
By W. Penn.

directed at suppressing their association, but to no avail. In the end, King James II granted them tolerance in an act, perhaps written by one of the great early Quakers, William Penn, just before the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Not surprisingly Quakers, like other persecuted religious minorities before them, fled in large numbers to the New World. They were not beyond the reach of harassment there either, however, and laws against heresy in the Massachusetts Bay colony and New York continued to make life difficult. In 1681 Penn was given the territory that would bear his name – Pennsylvania – in partial cancelation of a debt owed by James II to Penn's father. Penn intended it as a 'holy experiment', a place where no state religion would be officially established, and where religious tolerance was almost fully enshrined, unlike elsewhere in the New World. The colony attracted numerous Quakers, of course, but also other persecuted minorities like Catholics and Jews. Together with Fox's *Journal* and Barclay's *Apology*, Penn's *Brief Account* forms part of the fundamental trilogy necessary to understanding the early history of the Quaker movement. Written in an unadorned style rare among authors of the era, the book was originally intended as a preface to Fox's *Journal* and as such first pays tribute to him as founder of the movement, before proceeding to explain the Friends' basic philosophy and disciplines, while accounting for the abuse and discrimination they suffer. He then ends the book with specific exhortations for living a good life. The Fisher copy bears the 1696 ownership inscription of Robert Cowlam who was probably the infant born on 9 March 1672 in Pickering, Yorkshire, and whose birth was recorded in the Quaker register at the monthly meeting of Friends in Malton.[286]

75 Robert Barclay (1648–1690). *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People called Quakers.* Birmingham: John Baskerville, 1765.

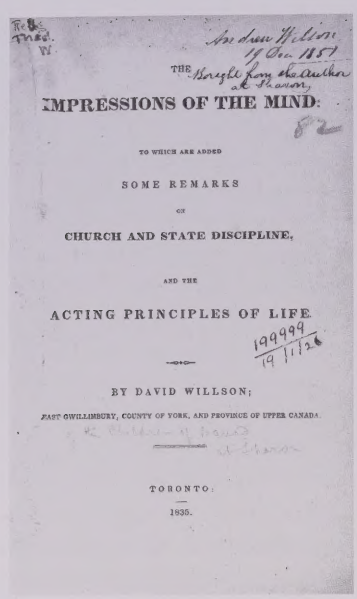
The Quaker movement was about thirty years old when the Scottish convert Robert Barclay published the first English edition of this seminal text in 1678. Barclay had been trained in dogmatics in France by his uncle, the Reverend Robert Barclay (1612–1682), who was a Catholic priest and rector of the Scots College in Paris. Barclay's thought, therefore, serves as a bridge between the concepts of fundamental theology prevalent at the end of the seventeenth century in mainstream Christianity, and the vocabulary and concepts employed by the Quakers themselves. At times the two groups had often spoken at cross-purposes with each other, owing to the fact that Quakers used the same language as their mainstream religious counterparts, but in slightly different ways, sufficiently confusing to


From David Barclay Grandson of the Author
To his esteemed Friend George Stacey.
1800.

AN
APOLOGY
FOR THE
True Christian Divinity.
BEING AN
EXPLANATION and VINDICATION
OF THE
PRINCIPLES and DOCTRINES
Of the People called
QUAKERS.
Written in LATIN and ENGLISH
By ROBERT BARCLAY,
And since translated into HIGH DUTCH, LOW DUTCH, FRENCH, and SPANISH, for the Information of Strangers.
The EIGHTH EDITION in ENGLISH.
BIRMINGHAM:
Printed by JOHN BASKERVILLE, and sold by the Booksellers of LONDON and WESTMINSTER.
M.DCC.LXV.

produce controversy and rancour. As one authority succinctly described it, 'to win toleration, the Quakers had to convince the authorities that they and their beliefs were tolerable.' Barclay's *Apology*, which outlines the Quaker faith in a series of propositions, was written to help achieve that acceptance, and is still considered the definitive statement about, and defence of, the new religion. He first published the work in Latin in 1676 at the age of twenty-eight, and then made his own translation into English. The bilingual editions thereby made the tenets of the movement accessible both in Britain and on the Continent as well. It was admired by many non-Quakers including John Wesley who quoted sections of it favourably in his 1741 treatise, *Serious Considerations on Absolute Predestination*. Barclay was a close friend to both George Fox and William Penn, and besides his work as an author and apologist he also served as Governor of East Jersey (now part of the State of New Jersey) from 1682 to 1688, although he never actually resided in the colony. Nevertheless, through his encouragement large numbers of Quakers settled there during the period of his administration,[287] with the first recorded Friends' meeting occurring in New Jersey on 4 September 1686.[288]

The Fisher copy is of the eighth edition, considered the finest impression (owing to its having been issued by the press of John Baskerville, the preeminent printer of his day), and was a gift from the author's grandson, David Barclay (1729–1809), to 'his esteemed friend George Stacey, 1800.' This is most likely the Barclay who was involved in the foundation of the modern eponymous Bank. Both he and Stacey were devout Quakers, committed abolitionists, and pacifists. As such, Barclay, who was a friend of Benjamin Franklin, unsuccessfully tried to serve as mediator between the Americans and the government of Lord North before the outbreak of hostilities in 1775.[289]



THE
IMPRESSIONS OF THE MIND:

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

SOME REMARKS

ON

CHURCH AND STATE DISCIPLINE,

AND THE

ACTING PRINCIPLES OF LIFE.

BY DAVID WILLSON;

EAST GWILLIMBURY, COUNTY OF YORK, AND PROVINCE OF UPPER CANADA.

TORONTO:

1835.

76 David Willson (1778–1866). *The Impressions of the Mind, to which are added some Remarks on Church and State Discipline, and the Acting Principles of Life.* Toronto: J.H. Lawrence, 1835.

The peace-loving Quakers splintered into various rival groups in Britain and North America during the nineteenth century, a phenomenon that most prominently manifested itself in Canada under the leadership of David Willson, who had been born in New York State to pious Presbyterian parents. After his marriage to a Quaker named Phoebe Titus, resulting in her disownment, the pair immigrated to Upper Canada in 1801. Through his wife's influence, Willson became strongly attracted to the principles of Quakerism and he eventually joined the Yonge Street Meeting of the Society of Friends (in present-day Newmarket) in 1805. By 1812, however, he began to experience dogmatic and liturgical differences with the Quakers. His beliefs about the divinity of Christ seemed at odds with Quaker orthodoxy as it was then expressed among Upper Canadian Quakers, and he felt drawn to more enthusiastic forms of worship that were clearly foreign to the tradition. As a result, he withdrew from their fellowship and several dozen other Quakers immediately joined him to establish the 'Children of Peace' at his new meeting place in Sharon. At the famous Temple he had constructed there (itself, the antithesis of the simple worship spaces favoured by Quakers), he introduced hymn-singing, another practice alien to the original movement. The Sharon Temple, which was architecturally inspired by the Temple of Solomon and the visions

contained in the Book of Revelation, was constructed between 1825 and 1832, and has the distinction of possessing the first pipe organ built in Upper Canada.

Willson was a prolific author of hymns and mystical essays, a singular voice in the Upper Canadian wilderness. His spirituality was firmly rooted in the writings of Fox, Barclay, and Penn even after he formally parted with the Society, and he spent the second half of his life unsuccessfully trying to heal the breach between his Children of Peace and their Quaker cousins.[290] His writings communicate a fundamental belief in democratic society, with equal opportunities for male and female members, and such radically innovative suggestions as cooperative banking and marketing. His ideas were best expressed in this book which was sold at the Temple and widely distributed in the United States. Laid out in three separately dated sections, the texts may constitute the substance of some of the sermons that Willson had preached at this time.

His advocacy for social reform led him to support the successful candidacy of William Lyon Mackenzie (1795–1861) as representative of the fourth York riding in the Colonial House of Assembly, but also placed his community under Tory suspicion during the Rebellion of 1837. The Temple itself was threatened with destruction in the aftermath of the Rebellion's failure, despite the fact that Willson, a pacifist, had distanced himself from the violence of the rebels. Religious principle compelled Willson to continue his support of reform-minded politicians for the rest of his life, and it was in no small way owing to his influence that the Children of Light helped to ensure the elections of Robert Baldwin (1804–1858) and Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine (1807–1864), the fathers of Canadian Responsible Government, in the face of threats from the local Orange Order.[291] By 1851, the Sharon settlement was recognized as the most prosperous agricultural community in the colony.[292] Willson's strong personality was such that the movement he founded, however, faltered and disappeared within a generation of his death, although the Temple he built still stands.

77 John Wesley (1703–1791) & Charles Wesley (1707–1788). *Hymns and Sacred Poems.* Bristol: Felix Farley, 1742.

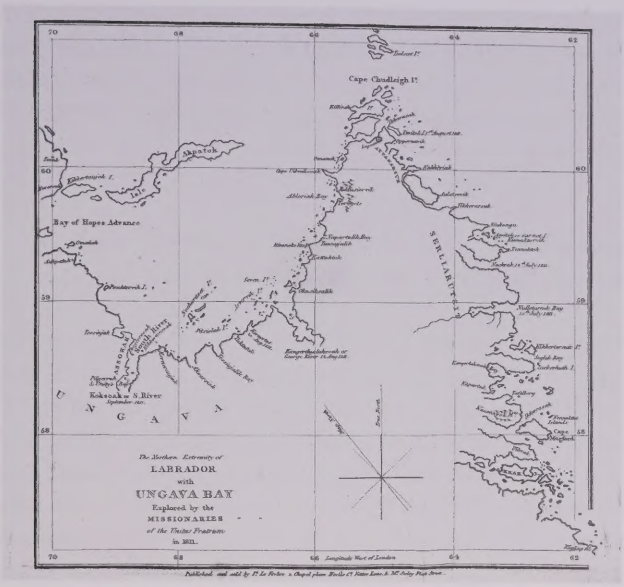
Together with his brother Charles and colleague George Whitefield (1714–1770), John Wesley is credited with the establishment of the religious movement that would eventually be known as 'Methodism.' It was while he was at Oxford in the early 1730s that Wesley came to believe that the Church of England, of which he was a priest, stood in great need of spiritual renewal. He and his associates embarked on a regimen of disciplined study of both the Scriptures and the mystical writings of Christian masters such as Thomas

à Kempis and Jeremy Taylor. They also revived ancient ascetic practices like fasting and the keeping of detailed lists of their spiritual efforts and failures, earning for themselves the epithet 'Methodists.' The piety of the Wesley brothers was recognized as genuine by many, however, and in addition to attracting followers in Oxford, they were also invited to assume responsibility for the recently established parish of Savannah, Georgia in 1736. The mission was short lived, but one of the most important accomplishments from the period of Wesley's incumbency there, was the 1737 printing of the brothers' *Collection of Psalms and Hymns*, the first Anglican hymnal published in the American colonies, and the first of numerous editions that would revive the practice of hymn-singing in the Church of England in general. *Hymns and Sacred Poems* would be published for the first time in 1739.[293]

It is generally believed that hymns with original texts were written by Charles while his brother John was responsible for those that were adaptations or translations.[294] They were set to popular contemporary tunes, and were a fundamental expression of the Wesleyan 'religion of the heart' since they were not so much theological as emotional reflections on the Christian journey. They rapidly became regular features of the revivalist movement sweeping the American colonies known as the 'Great Awakening' (in which Wesley's colleague George Whitefield played a prominent role), a campaign that spread to Nova Scotia in 1775. John Wesley himself recorded in his diary that he would sing up to four times a day while on his preaching circuit in the city of Bristol.[295] Many of the most beloved hymns in the Christian repertoire were first found in these books, including 'Lo, He Comes with Clouds Descending', 'Christ the Lord is Risen Today', and 'Hark the Herald Angels Sing', sacred songs still associated with the changing liturgical seasons today.

78 Benjamin Gottlieb Kohlmeister (1750–1844) and George Kmoch (1770–1857). *Journal of a Voyage from Okkak, on the Coast of Labrador, to Ungava Bay, Westward of Cape Chudleigh, Undertaken to Explore the Coast, and Visit the Esquimaux in that Unknown Region.* London: Printed by W. McDowall, for the Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen, 1814.

The Moravians are among the oldest of the Protestant denominations, tracing their origins to the Hussite movement of the fifteenth century. The official name of the church, however, is the 'United Brethren', a missionary movement that derived its popular name from the Czech territory of Moravia, from which its members fled in the 1720s after a vigorous reimposition of the Counter-Reformation by the Habsburgs. The refugees settled at Herrnhut in Saxony and it



was there that the convert Benjamin Gottlieb Kohlmeister studied for ministry. In 1790, after the successful completion of his first appointment in Denmark, he was sent to the Labrador Inuit mission that the Brethren had established some twenty years earlier. Although he had little formal education, Kohlmeister proved adept at languages and quickly learned Inuktitut. He would eventually translate the Gospel of John into the local dialect while serving as a teacher, doctor, and trader in the community of Okak in northern Labrador. His ministry there and in the more southerly community of Hopedale contributed in no small way to the establishment of an effectively Moravian theocracy over the region.[296] Like the Methodists, the movement placed heavy emphasis on emotional responses to spiritual mysteries, thereby often creating an imbalance of power between the European and Indigenous cultures since the former controlled the trajectory of conversion.[297] The last Moravian missionaries finally left the area in 2005.

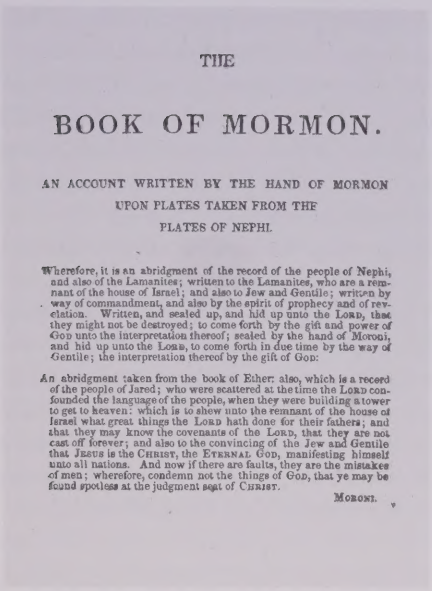
In this book Kohlmeister and his colleague George Kmoch detail their mission activities in the Ungava Bay region. As such it is as much travel literature as religious biography, but it still communicates the utter tenacity of the Moravian missionaries in one of Canada's most inhospitable climates. A certain sentimentality had come to be associated with the Moravians in the early nineteenth century to which this book is a corrective. In the popular mind, they were the quintessential missionaries, and their fields of labour, in which the homes of 'savages' were now tidy and comfortable with neat little gardens, all bore witness to their civilizing and Europeanizing effect. In this book, the harshness of the environment in which they actually worked cannot be hidden, thus challenging the

prevailing mawkishness that had come to be associated with their work.[298] Like the Jesuit *Relations*, perhaps the greatest contribution of Kohlmeister and Kmoch's report is its preservation of the intimate contact of Europeans with the Indigenous people of the New World before that world was forever changed.

79 *The Book of Mormon translated by Joseph Smith, Jr.* Nauvoo, Illinois: Robinson and Smith, 1840.

Joseph Smith (1805–1844) was raised in a peripatetic family that finally settled in the rolling landscape of upstate New York, in the region of Palmyra, one of the principal centres for the Second Great Awakening (1790–1850). His mother, Lucy Mack Smith (1775–1856), found her spiritual comfort among the local Presbyterians; Joseph, however, attached himself to the Methodists when he was fourteen, but discovered that he was not truly moved by their enthusiasm. After much prayer and reflection, he came to believe that rather than join an existing denomination, he should wait for angelic inspiration to establish his own. This supernatural communication was vouchsafed to him in 1823 when, aged eighteen, he claimed that an angel named Moroni had visited him and revealed the existence of some golden plates buried beneath the Hill Cumorah. These tablets, which could not be disturbed for another four years, he was told would contain the fullness of the Christian Gospels. The sacred text was written in an unidentifiable ancient language to which Smith was given the key of translation, and he set about rendering it into modern English. When people asked to see the plates, Smith consistently refused. The manuscript, which had been entrusted to a local banker for safe-keeping, eventually disappeared and could not be re-constituted since the golden plates had been returned to the angel. When all seemed lost, Moroni reappeared with the plates and the process of transcription began all over again.[299] Smith's second manuscript ran to about six hundred pages in total, representing a mammoth task for the local Palmyra printer Egbert Grandin (1806–1845). An added complication was the reasonable fear that Smith's new text would be deemed heretical by the Protestants who lived in the area. Grandin's initial hesitation to undertake the commission was eventually overcome, however, once it became clear that a printer from Rochester was willing to assume responsibility for the project. The completed text was duly registered according to Act of Congress in 1829, and five thousand copies of the first edition were then printed the following year. The publication was boycotted by mainline Protestants, and consequently sales of the first edition were decidedly slow.

The Fisher copy, which was published in Nauvoo, Illinois (but printed in Cincinnati) is the third edition, and the first to be printed



THE

BOOK OF MORMON.

AN ACCOUNT WRITTEN BY THE HAND OF MORMON
UPON PLATES TAKEN FROM THE
PLATES OF NEPHI.

Wherefore, it is an abridgment of the record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites; written to the Lamanites, who are a remnant of the house of Israel; and also to Jew and Gentile; written by way of commandment, and also by the spirit of prophecy and of revelation. Written, and sealed up, and hid up unto the LORD, that they might not be destroyed; to come forth by the gift and power of GOD unto the interpretation thereof; sealed by the hand of Moroni, and hid up unto the LORD, to come forth in due time by the way of Gentile; the interpretation thereof by the gift of GOD:

An abridgment taken from the book of Ether: also, which is a record of the people of Jared; who were scattered at the time the LORD confounded the language of the people, when they were building a tower to get to heaven: which is to shew unto the remnant of the house of Israel what great things the LORD hath done for their fathers; and that they may know the covenants of the LORD, that they are not cast off forever; and also to the convincing of the Jew and Gentile that JESUS is the CHRIST, the ETERNAL GOD, manifesting himself unto all nations. And now if there are faults, they are the mistakes of men; wherefore, condemn not the things of GOD, that ye may be found spotless at the judgment seat of CHRIST.

MORONI.

from a stereotype. The city of Nauvoo had been purchased by the Mormons in April of 1840 as part of their quest for religious freedom, after having suffered persecution in the state of Missouri. To say that the text was controversial from the start is an understatement, and the decision to describe Smith as its 'author' or 'translator' is itself fraught. The issue even entered into the discourse of late nineteenth-century American humour with Mark Twain observing that 'if Joseph Smith composed this book, the act was a miracle – keeping awake while he did it was, at any rate. If he, according to tradition, merely translated it from certain ancient and mysteriously-engraved plates of copper, which he declared he found under a stone, in an out-of-the-way locality, the work of translation was equally a miracle, for the same reason.'[300] The *Book of Mormon* consistently ranks among the top ten best-selling books of all time, with more than 140 million copies recorded as sold. By the end of 1840, the year in which this copy was printed, the Mormon population of the United States had risen to 16,865 representing an increase of almost 2.5% in church membership over the previous year.

80 Mary Baker Eddy (1821–1910). *Science and Health.* Boston: Christian Scientist Publishing Company, 1875.

The Christian Science Church is one of only a handful of denominations founded by women. Mary Baker Eddy grew up in a traditional Congregationalist home in the state of New Hampshire. She had experienced chronic illness from childhood, but did not develop the

principles of her holistic philosophy until she was forty-five years old. Baker Eddy was an unlikely religious leader in Victorian America since she was both a female and a divorcée who had come under the influence of the mesmerist and hypnotist Phineas Quimby (1802–1866), a homeopathic healer from Maine. It was while she was recuperating from a fall in 1866 that she began to formulate for herself the psychosomatic foundations of Christian Science while meditating on the healing stories of the Bible. It was her belief that individuals were able to align themselves with the 'all-powerful Mind', and free themselves thereby from the 'illusion of matter.' According to this philosophy, therefore, there was no longer any need for medical intervention to achieve healing. Her fundamental theology perceived divine reality in non-gender specific terminology such as the Incorporeal, Supreme, Infinite Mind, Spirit, Soul, Principle, Life, Truth, and Love.[301] Not surprisingly, her teachings were viewed with suspicion and widely rejected in both the religious and secular worlds.

She published her most important work, *Science and Health*, using the surname of her first husband, George Washington Glover. (She would not marry her third husband Asa Gilbert Eddy until 1877.) Publishers were not initially interested in the text, and only a thousand copies were finally printed, at the expense of two of her students. Baker Eddy claimed that the title had come to her through divine inspiration, although it is remarkably similar to one that Quimby had much earlier assigned to his own unpublished manuscript, *The Science of Health*, in which he had explained his system of psychosomatic healing.[302] The first edition of Eddy's book was not particularly well-executed and has been described as 'a jungle of typographical errors.' (The Fisher copy contains an *errata* slip bound in at the back, although these do not appear in many copies since the errors were not detected until much of the stock had already been sold.) Not surprisingly, the book's publication led to widespread allegations of heresy within the Protestant community since it seemed to many that Baker Eddy had elevated her own writings onto the same canonical plane as Scripture itself.[303] On the one hand, many *fin-de-siècle* Protestants considered both her and her writings deranged; on the other hand, however, it was the era of transcendentalism, spiritualism, and theosophical experimentation, and so while many were intrigued by Christian Science, they refused to credit a woman with such a system, preferring instead to attribute her philosophy to prominent men of the time.[304]

In 1879, four years after the appearance of the first edition of this foundational text, Baker Eddy secured a charter for the Church of Christ, Scientist, and her first church building was subsequently opened in Boston in 1894. One of her most enduring legacies, however, is the *Christian Science Monitor* which she established when she was eighty-seven years of age. With its emphasis on 'positive

thought' Baker Eddy's philosophy exerted tremendous influence over the development of holistic health theory in the United States in the twentieth century, disproportionate to the size of the membership of the church she founded.

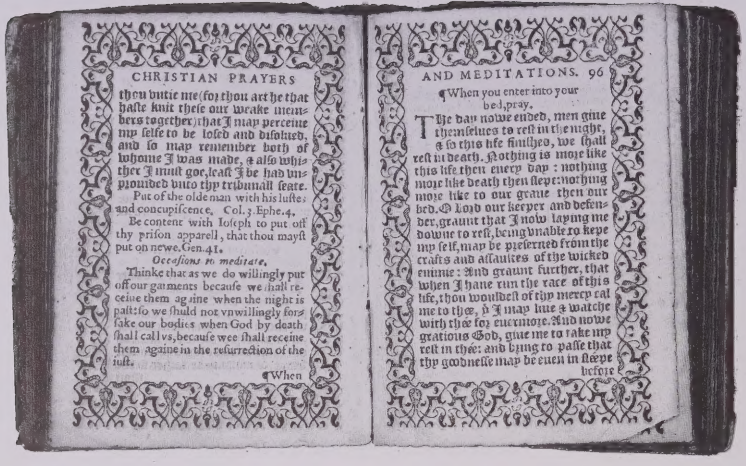
THE REFORMATION AT PRAYER

The adage *lex orandi, lex credendi* (the law of praying is the law of believing) had been one of the guiding principles for liturgical development in Christianity from at least the early fifth century. Under this rubric, public worship evolved from diocese to diocese under the watchful eye of bishops and senior clerics, while private devotions shaped the popular pieties and cults of saints, reaching their apogee on the eve of the Reformation. Quite simply, prayer was the formal expression of the church's faith, and had to be carefully controlled to avoid heresy. This same principle guided the Reformers as they amended the perceived abuses in worship, all with the single aim of restoring the church's worship to what they believed was its pristine, primitive form. Counter-Reformers hoped to reinforce the traditions of Catholicism by encouraging pious practices, like litanies, the veneration of images, and processions. Both Protestants and Catholic alike, however, required the use of print materials to help give voice to the prayers that were intended to be personal, but should also express what had become the new orthodoxies of the age.

PROTESTANT PRAYER BOOKS

81 Henry Bull (d. 1577). *Christian Praiers and Holie Meditations, as wel for Priuate as Publique Exercise.* London: Henry Middleton, [1576?].

This portable prayer book was obviously treasured by the early owner who had it bound in gold-tooled leather with gauffered text-block edges. The printer, Henry Middleton (d. 1587), is believed to have been the driving force behind its first appearance in 1568, since he had encouraged the editor, Henry Bull, to produce a more representative collection of personal prayers than had been commonly used in England since the Reformation. Bull was a graduate of Magdalen College, Oxford, and it was there that he first met the martyrologist John Foxe. After the accession of Queen Elizabeth he had helped Foxe to organize those manuscripts deposited at Emmanuel College, Cambridge that had previously belonged to Protestants who had suffered during the reign of the late Queen Mary. Bull subsequently published some of their personal stories, many in pam-



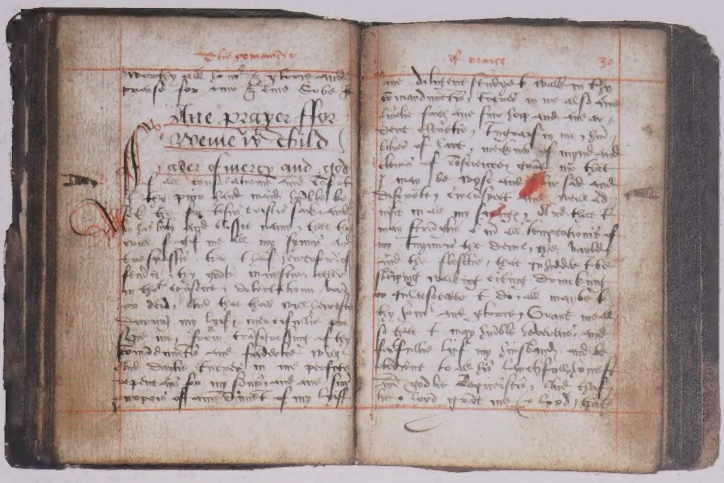
CHRISTIAN PRAYERS
then vnthe me(for thou art he that
haste knit these our weake mem-
bers together)that I may perceiue
my selfe to be losed and disolued,
and so may remember both of
whome I was made, & also whi-
ther I must goe, least I be had vn-
prouided vnto thy tribunall seate.
Put of the olde man with his lustes
and concupiscence. Col. 3. Ephe. 4.
Be content with Ioseph to put off
thy prison apparell, that thou mayst
put on newe. Gen. 41.
Occasions to meditate.
Thinke that as we do willingly put
off our garments because we shall re-
ceiue them ag ine when the night is
past: so we should not vnwillingly forsa-
sake our bodies when God by death
shall call vs, because wee shall receiue
them againe in the resurrection of the
iust.
¶When

AND MEDITATIONS. 96
¶When you enter into your
bed, pray.
THe day nowe ended, men giue
themselues to rest in the night,
& so this life finished, we shall
rest in death. Nothing is more like
this life then euery day: nothing
more like death then sleepe: nothing
more like to our graue then our
bed. O Lord our keeper and defen-
der, graunt that I now laying me
downe to rest, being vnable to kepe
my self, may be preserued from the
crafts and assauites of the wicked
enimie: And graunt further, that
when I haue run the race of this
life, thou wouldest of thy mercy cal
me to thee, & I may liue & watche
with thee for euermore. And nowe
gratious God, giue me to take my
rest in thee: and bring to passe that
thy goodnesse may be euen in sleepe
before

phlet form, which Foxe later mined for his *Actes and Monuments*.[305] Bull's *Christian Praiers and Holie Meditations* is similar in style and character to the official liturgical books of the era, complete with calendar and almanac, though the calendar has been altered to reflect the new realities of Protestant piety. Most of the traditional saints, with the exception of the apostles, have been swept away and in their place one finds such commemorations as that on 13 March 'ye feast of Hester was celebrated, because ye daye was appointed to put the Jewes to death' or 15 December 'Antiochus the great, set up an idol uppon the Altar of the Lord in Jerusalem.' A definite preference for the stories of the Old Testament prevails over the hagiography of the late medieval church, and the prayers collected by Bull are rendered in a simple style, accessible to most ordinary readers. The influence of the earlier Primers of Kings Henry VIII and Edward VI, as well as the Book of Common Prayer, is evident throughout, while the book's portable format, and the ornate borders that frame each page, harken back to the era of the Catholic Books of Hours. The publication was immensely popular: it went through six editions by 1590 and was reprinted well into the sixteenth century. Among its many prayers may be found the source for one of the most famous and popular Elizabethan spiritual texts, 'Lord, for thy tender mercy's sake', whose musical setting is attributed to Richard Farrant (1525–1580).[306]

82 The Pomander of Prayer: Certane Godlie Prayeris to be Useit of all Christin Men and Wemen. [Scotland? ca. 1600?].

This manuscript collection of prayers was crafted to reflect the evolving piety of second and third generation Protestants, particu-



larly with respect to the reformed doctrines of Christ as mediator and Saviour, of the pervasiveness of sin, and of the fear of God. At the same time, however, it also incorporates numerous aspects of earlier Catholic piety as well, especially in terms of its ornamentation. Its restrained decoration, with large decorated initials, is reminiscent of the simple, domestic Books of Hours one would have more commonly found in the mid-fifteenth century. The use of the indefinite article 'ane' instead of 'a', 'quhilk' instead of 'which', 'quhat' instead of 'what', 'forasmekill' instead of 'forasmuch', and 'meckle' in place of 'much' argues for a Lowland Scots origin. Bound in contemporary calf and tooled in gold, it has the initials of an unidentified early owner, 'I.P.', stamped on both covers. Included in the manuscript, among other devotions, are Henry VIII's 'Devout Prayer unto Christ' from his 1546 Primer; a prayer for the gift of the Holy Ghost from Edward VI's Primer of 1553; a prayer to be said while dressing oneself from the writings of the Protestant martyr, John Bradford (1510–1555); a prayer against envy from John Day's *Book of Christian Prayer* of 1578; as well as numerous prayers from the *Pomander* of Thomas Becon (1512–1567), one of Thomas Cranmer's household chaplains. Also included are some of the prayers falsely attributed to St Augustine of Hippo (354-430) that had first become available to Middle English readers sometime after the year 1365. The English translation of pseudo-Augustine that proved most popular in Tudor and Stuart Britain, however, was made directly from Latin incunabula and saw more than seventy editions, twenty-seven of them appearing between 1550 and 1640.[307] It was not uncommon to print these supplications together with the *Pomander* as may be found in this manuscript. Certain prayers, such as 'Ane prayer ffor wemen with child' and 'To haif childrene', suggest that the original owner of this particular volume may have been a woman. Devo-

tional books like this one gradually displaced the Primers and Books of Hours which had been based on the church's official liturgy and used over the previous century and a half in Britain.

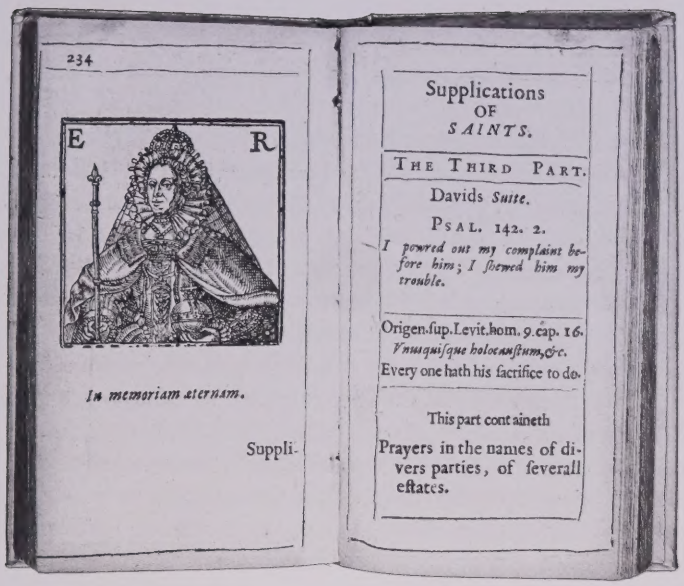
83 John Darell. Booke of Sermons. Scotland, circa 1638.

The presence of a transcription of The National Covenant at the end of this small booklet argues for a Scottish provenance, although no record of the minister 'John Darell' has yet been found. The main body of the text is composed of a series of sermons, preached morning and afternoon over an unrecorded length of time, focusing in particular on the books of Jeremiah, Chronicles, as well as I and II Peter, and ending with an instruction for the reception of Holy Communion. The diminutive format would argue in favour of the booklet being used by an itinerant minister, perhaps travelling to a single point in his charge, in preparation for the important celebration of the Sacrament, for which extensive preparation was expected in the new Reformed tradition. The sermon was an integral part of Reformed worship in general, and could often take more than an hour to preach. Central to Reformed Scottish piety was the discernment of spirits in a minister's homily: was the voice of God truly communicated through a particular preacher's ministrations, with a word to say about human sinfulness, the assurance of forgiveness, and salvation, or not? The test was not only whether a given sermon was truly biblical in character, and sympathetic to a Protestant understanding of the Scriptures, but more problematically, whether there was a genuine sense that the preacher was intimately connected to the divine beyond himself. The claim to have had direct communication with God and a share in the prophetic ministry enjoyed greater currency in the Scottish church than it did south of the border, and was made by such notable figures as John Knox, John Welsh, Robert Bruce, Robert Blair, and John Livingstone – all of whom were active in the years before The National Covenant. Such sermons were essential to the development of a unique Scottish Protestant piety that was characteristic of the culture well beyond the Reformation era. Darell's collection of sermons is also noteworthy for its binding: a partial leaf of medieval manuscript waste with text from the book of Jeremiah written in French.

On loan from the library of Eric Robertson.

84 *Supplications of Saints: A Booke of Prayers and Praises.* London: Printed by I.L. for H. Overton, 1462 [i.e. 1642].

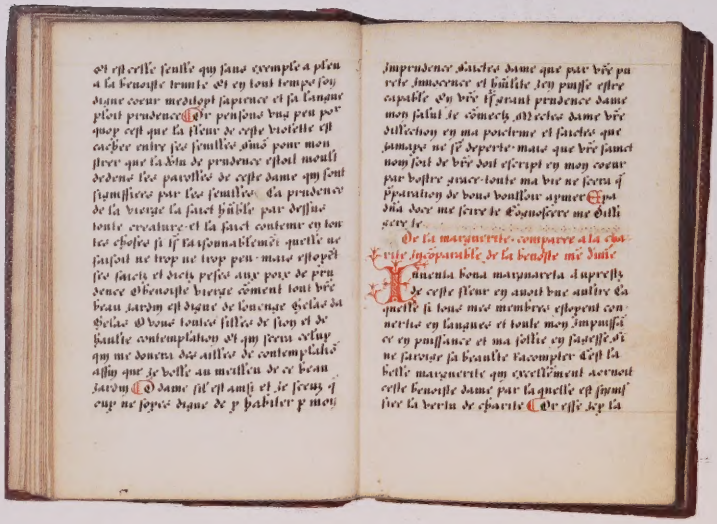
This Protestant devotional work dates from the Stuart period but includes numerous prayers from the sixteenth century as well, such



as Queen Elizabeth's supplications on behalf of her navy during the Armada crisis of 1588. The compiler of the book was Thomas Sorocold (1561–1617), a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford and rector of St Mildred's Church, Poultry in London during the declining years of the Queen's reign. The book was first published in 1616, and its popularity was such that it saw almost fifty editions by 1723.[308] It includes devotions that could be shared by Christians of all stripes, such as meditations on the resurrection of Christ, the meaning of salvation, grace before and after meals; but it also includes prayers that express the fractious character of the post-Reformation church, such as a thanksgiving for safe deliverance from the horrors of the Gunpowder Plot. The volume's clearly Protestant bent combined with the brevity of its prayers and small format to ensure its favour and survival throughout the period of the Commonwealth and well into the Restoration. The Fisher copy was a bequest to the University of Toronto by the Anglican priest and antiquarian, Canon Henry Scadding (1813–1901), whose books and manuscripts, amassed during the 1830s while still a divinity student in St John's College, Cambridge, would eventually become a constituent part of the Department of Special Collections.

85 Jardin de la Vierge. France, [15—?].

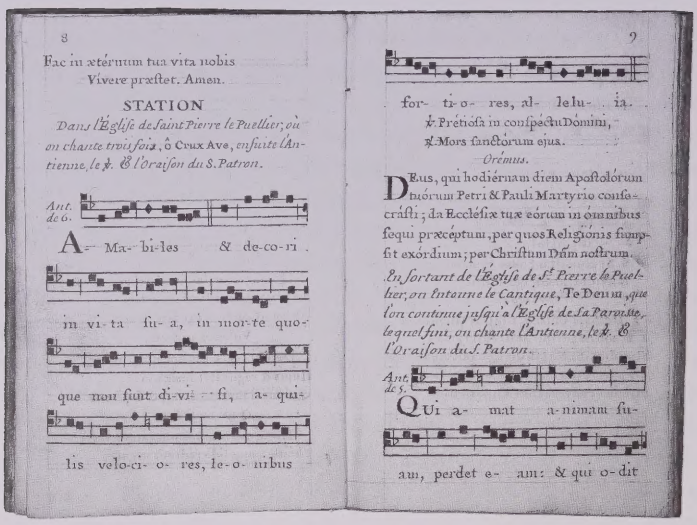
The role of the Virgin Mary as advocate in the piety of Western Christendom reached its zenith in the High Middle Ages. The tender maiden of Nazareth was seen by her clients as an attractive alternative to a Christ who had increasingly assumed the guise of an implacable judge, especially in the public art that adorned medieval churches and manuscripts. While the majority of Protestants rejected this exalted position for the Virgin, it was retained (and even expanded) by Catholics, as this collection of meditations from around the time of the Reformation bears witness. Intended for the inspiration of a young girl and personally addressed to '*ma chere cordiale et plus aymee fille*', this manuscript (written in an informal *anticha corsiva* script) uses the metaphor of a garden to consider the virtues of Mary, an image found as early as the fourth century in the writings of St Jerome and St Ambrose. The 'enclosed garden' described in the fourth chapter of the Song of Songs came to be interpreted as a mirror of the Virgin, and is consistent with other popular images of Mary found in such widely-circulated illustrated books as the *Speculum humanae salvationis* that appeared in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. These works were intended as antidotes to the high and dry theology of the Scholastic divines of the previous century and proved to be remarkably popular in both manuscript and printed form. Although the *Speculum* lost favour after the Reformation, aspects of its content survived in books such as this one.



The author here explains that Divine Wisdom summons her children to contemplate the wonders of creation, chief of which is the Virgin herself. Her purity is compared to the lily, her innocence to the rose, her humility to the carnation, and her prudence to the violet. The Venerable Bede (672-735) had already championed these horticultural metaphors insisting that the whiteness of the lily represented Mary's virginity while its golden anther (the part of the stamen where pollen is produced) mirrored the radiant light of her soul. St Bernard of Clairvaux also praised Mary as 'the violet of humility, the lily of chastity, the rose of charity, the Balm of Gilead, and the golden gillyflower of heaven.'[309] These allusions eventually made their way into common usage, first with marigolds which were originally called 'Seint Mary gouldes.' It was perhaps in response to this evolution in devotional piety that artistic representations of the Annunciation were eventually altered. Previous to the year 1400, for example, the angel Gabriel is generally shown visiting the Virgin within a domestic setting; after that year the two are increasingly depicted inside a walled garden resplendent with flowers like those described by the anonymous writer of this manuscript.[310] The rich imagery of traditional Catholic piety proved remarkably resilient and inspirational, especially in the mission territories of the New World where the Counter-Reformation Church offered an alternative to the aridness of the Protestant intellectualism and neo-Scholasticism of the later sixteenth century. The Fisher manuscript was a gift of Canon Henry Scadding.

86 [Processional chants from the diocese of Poitiers.] Poitiers, [1610?].

Processions were one of the few ways in which the Catholic laity actively participated in the liturgy with the church's ordained ministers. They were symbolic of the earthly pilgrimage of all believers through this life to their final destination in heaven. The music that accompanied processions was less controlled than the established settings used in the official liturgies, and they often reflected local custom and tastes as well. For this reason, processional books are popular with modern musicologists since they frequently preserve lesser-known musical traditions. This manuscript, written in a fine roman hand using Gregorian chant notation, was created to accompany the annual processions held in the city of Poitiers to the two station churches of St-Pierre le Puellier and Montierneuf. Included in its forty-six pages are psalms, litanies, and proper chants for the Sunday after Easter, Rogationtide (the blessing of the spring fields), the second Sunday in May, and the feast of Corpus Christi. Both destination churches – the Benedictine abbey of Montierneuf (founded in 1069) and the twelfth-century church of St-Pierre le


8

Fac in ætérnum tua vita nobis
Vivere præſtet. Amen.

STATION

Dans l'Egliſe de ſaint Pierre le Puellier, où on chante trois fois, ô Crux Ave, enſuite l'Antienne, le ℣. & l'Oraiſon du S. Patron.

Ant. de 6.

A- Ma- bi-les & de-co-ri

in vi- ta ſu- a, in mor-te quo-

que non ſunt di-vi- ſi, a- qui-

lis velo-ci- o- res, le-o- nibus

9

for- ti o- res, al- le lu- ia.

℣. Prétioſa in conſpectu Dómini,
℟. Mors ſanctórum ejus.

Orémus.

DEus, qui hodiérnam diem Apoſtolórum tuórum Petri & Pauli Martyrio conſecráſti; da Eccléſiæ tuæ eórum in ómnibus ſequi præcéptum, per quos Religiónis ſumpſit exórdium; per Chriſtum Dóm. noſtrum.

En ſortant de l'Egliſe de S. Pierre le Puellier, on entame le Cantique, Te Deum, *que l'on continue juſqu'à l'Egliſe de ſa Paroiſſe, le quel fini, on chante l'Antienne, le ℣. & l'Oraiſon du S. Patron.*

Ant. de 5.

QUi a- mat a- nimam ſu-

am, perdet e- am: & qui o- dit

Puellier – were partially destroyed by the Huguenots during the Wars of Religion that raged in France between 1562 and 1598. This manuscript dates from less than twelve years after the end of those hostilities, and records the liturgical texts in Latin with instructions given in French.

Calvinist Protestants eliminated processions as expressions of popular devotion, while Lutherans and Anglicans retained some for specific days and purposes, especially for Rogationtide and as part of funeral rites. In the Catholic world, however, processions in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, the Virgin Mary, and other saints have remained popular to the present day.

87 Luis de Granada (1505–1588). *Of Prayer, and Meditation wherein are Conteined Fouuertien Devoute Meditations for the Seven Daies of the Week.* Douai: John Heigham, 1612.

This collection of prayers was translated by the English Catholic exile, Richard Hopkins (ca. 1546-ca. 1596), from the Spanish *Libro de la oración y meditación*, a work first printed by the Plantin Press in 1572. The book, originally written by the Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada, was intended for private devotion and proved to be immensely popular with English Recusants. A lawyer, Hopkins dedicated his translation to his fellow benchers from the London Inns of Court. Some irony might be intended in that dedication, however, since he had actually fled the 'heresy of the Middle Court' (as he described it) in 1566 and settled at Catholic Louvain in Flanders. It was while he was there that Father Thomas Harding encouraged him to translate devotional rather than controversial works for the

Meditation for WENSDAIE *nighte.*

THis daie (when thou haſt made the ſigne of the Croſſe, and prepared thy ſelfe hereunto,) thou haſt to meditate vpon the houre of deathe: which is one of the moſt profitable conſideratiõs, that a Chriſtian man may haue, as well for the obteyninge of true wiſedome, and eſchewinge of ſinne: as alſo to moue him to begynne to prepare him ſelfe in time for the howre of death.

Of

Wenſdaie nighte. 198

O death how bitter is thy remembrance to a man that liueth quiet in his substance. Eccles. 41. 1.

WENSDAY NIGHT.

OF THE HOWER OF DEATH.

BVT to the intent that this conſideration maie be profitable vnto thee, it ſhall behoue thee to make thy petition vnto almightie God, beſeechinge him to graunte thee ſome feelinge of ſuch thinges as are wõt to paſſe in this laſt conſiõte: that thou maieſt

use of his co-religionists in England. Hopkins, nevertheless, interjected several inflammatory barbs into his introduction, asking 'howe the deuill coulde preuaile so farfoorthe, as to induce a whole newe late secte of heretikes that be called Puritans (professinge in gaie words to be more pure, more sincere, and better professsours of Christes gospell than anie other Christians either be or hauve bene in anie age since the Apostles time) to write of late so unchristianlie by common consent euen in an Englishe printed booke againste obseruinge in the Churche the moste auncient yearlie solemne feastes of Easter, and Pentecoste, and againste all speciall meditations at anie one solemne time of the yeare.' So well-regarded was the book at home that, like Robert Parson's *Christian Directorie*, it found favour among members of the Church of England, and his translation eventually saw eleven Protestant editions between the years 1592 and 1634.[311] The first Catholic edition was printed at Paris in 1582, with a second appearing at Rouen two years later. The Fisher copy is the third edition, attributed to the printer John Heigham (1568–1634) who was second only to the English College at Douai for the printing of English Catholic literature at the time. The book, however, was actually printed by Pierre Auroi and then smuggled back into England by Heigham.[312]

The Fisher copy is bound in late eighteenth-century blue goatskin with the crest, motto ('*Deus alit me*'), and cipher of the Reverend Theodore Williams (1785–1875) stamped on the upper cover, and with his full arms on the lower. Williams was an antiquarian and Anglican priest whose passion for collecting rare books has led to his unfavourable comparison with Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872) as 'another victim of his own extravagance.' Williams's significant library of medieval manuscripts and early books

(including Cardinal Ximenes's Polyglot Bible and classics of the Reformation) was auctioned in London in the spring of 1827, although he managed to rebuild his collection afterwards. It was at that auction that Phillipps, arguably the greatest private collector of medieval manuscripts in Britain, purchased the Gospels of Matilda of Tuscany and the Gundulf Bible, for the then high prices of £172 and £189 respectively.[313]

THE REFORMATION AND THE ARTS

Iconoclasm is, unfortunately, one of the most regrettable legacies of the Protestant Reformation. The visual arts were among the first to suffer as zealots in the British Isles, the Netherlands, and the Swiss Confederacy destroyed statues, whitewashed frescos, and smashed stained glass windows in an effort to be faithful to the commandment 'Thou shalt not make graven images.' While such wanton destruction remains lamentable for Western culture, the era was not bereft of all art, and indeed saw the birth of new forms in almost all religious traditions. Secular portrait art, for example, flourished in both Protestant and Catholic territories as the Renaissance spirit spread across the Continent, and carved funerary monuments in newly reformed churches began to replace the images of saints. Changes to the liturgy saw the introduction of *a cappella* congregational psalm-singing in Scotland, the Netherlands, and the Swiss cantons, while in the Anglican Communion a new form of plainchant, introduced by John Merbecke (ca. 1510-ca. 1585), would establish a musical tradition that lasts to the present day. The Council of Trent also decreed changes to service music that saw the emergence of such polyphonic giants as Palestrina, Vittoria, and Lassus. Metaphysical poetry emerged from the pens of Counter-Reformation saints and Anglican divines alike. The world of Catholic architecture was energized by the appearance of the Baroque, an aesthetic that was eventually embraced by Protestant London, Bern, and Stockholm. In this era of transition, the printer's arts also served the development of European culture, to which these few examples bear witness.

88 Nicolas de Marle. *Missa ad imitationem moduli* (Panis quem ego dabo). Paris: Adrien Le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1559.

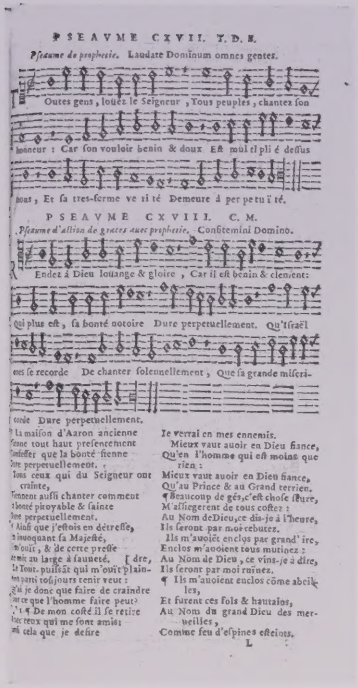
Little is known about the biography of the priest-composer Nicolas de Marle other than that he was the choirmaster of the cathedral of Notre-Dame de Noyon in Picardy in 1568, the same church in which the reformer John Calvin had been baptized almost sixty years ear-

lier.[314] Although de Marle was a provincial composer, this parody Mass was considered sufficiently fine to be included in a catalogue dating to the 1560s that belonged to the Cappella Giulia, the second most important Renaissance choir after the pope's own Sistine. Besides this Mass, the catalogue also included numerous works by Josquin, Morales, and Carpentras, among others.[315] A 'parody' or 'imitation Mass' is one that uses a fragment of pre-existing music, such as a popular song or a motet, as the basis for its own melodic structure. In earlier times secular *chansons*, such as the famous *L'homme armé* (which was used as the *cantus firmus* in some forty Masses[316]), had provided their inspiration. This practice, however, was condemned by the Council of Trent on 10 September 1562, when the Fathers declared: 'Let nothing profane be intermingled. Banish from church all music that contains, whether in the singing or the organ playing, things that are lascivious or impure.' De Marle's Mass, however, was based on an unidentified sacred song for the feast of Corpus Christi, *Panis quem ego dabo*, and thus would have fallen in line with the Council regulations that would be passed three years later. He was not averse to composing Masses based on profane melodies as well, however, as his Missa *O gente brunette*, based on a *chanson* published in 1548 by Thomas Champion, proves.[317] The most talented of composers continued to incorporate imitation into their Mass settings for centuries, with Palestrina alone providing more than fifty examples. The twenty-fourth session of the Council of Trent, which began on 11 November 1563, left the implementation of the decree on sacred music to the discretion of provincial synods. As a result, while the Italian and French churches mostly complied, the decree was largely ignored in the Germanic territories, where the new Lutheran forms of worship were employing popular music within the liturgy.

89 Clément Marot (1495?–1544) and Théodore Beza (1519–1605). *Les pseaumes de David: mis en rime françoise.* Charenton: Antoine Cellier, 1647.

The poet and freethinker Clément Marot began his French translation of the first thirty Psalms while living in Paris. It was a project that was eventually destined to be popular with Protestants, especially after his paraphrases were set to music by the Huguenots Claude Goudimel (who was killed during the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572) and Claude le Jeune (d. 1600). Goudimel composed over three hundred musical settings for the singing of the Psalms in Calvinist worship, seventy of which were in the parody or imitative style. The hymn tunes featured here, however, are recorded in the simple homophonic form favoured for congregational singing, and for which he wrote slightly more than eighty tunes.[318] Although Marot's poetry was favoured in the royal circles frequented by Francis I, Henry II, and Catherine de Medici, the doctors of the Sorbonne were less enthusiastic owing to the uses made of it to advance the cause of French Protestantism at home and abroad. The Faculty condemned his work in 1543, forcing Marot to flee to Geneva where he continued his labours. Calvin's new liturgy placed a greater emphasis on the singing of the Psalms in the vernacular (as opposed to Latin plainchant), as witnessed by the first 'Geneva Psalter' he had published at Strasbourg. The first volume of this reformed ritual appeared in 1539, and included twelve of Marot's paraphrases together with six written by Calvin himself. In time, Calvin's great collaborator Théodore Beza added his own translations to the growing Psalter and, although Calvin's translations eventually disappeared from the books, Marot's and Beza's were reproduced in numerous editions over the centuries, and continue to be popular with French Protestant congregations throughout the world.

In his preface to the Genevan Psalter of 1543, Calvin explained why use of the vernacular was critical. 'For a linnet, a nightingale, a parrot may sing well; but it will be without understanding. But the unique gift of man is to sing knowing that which he sings.' In Calvin's measured opinion, music was itself a divine gift when used appropriately as he goes on to explain in the same preface. 'Among the other things that are proper for recreating man and giving him pleasure', he writes, 'music is either the first, or one of the principal; and it is necessary for us to think that it is a gift of God deputed for that use. Moreover, because of this, we ought to be the more careful not to abuse it, for fear of soiling and contaminating it, converting it to our condemnation, where it was dedicated to our profit and use. If there were no other consideration than this alone, it ought indeed to move us to moderate the use of music, to make it serve all honest things; and that it should not give occasion for our giving free rein to



PSEAVME CXVII. T. D. E.

Pſeaume de prophecie. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.

Outes gens, louez le Seigneur, Tous peuples, chantez ſon

honeur : Car ſon vouloir benin & doux Eſt mul el pli é deſſus

pout, Et ſa tres-ferme ve ri té Demeure á per pe tu i té.

PSEAVME CXVIII. C. M.

Pſeaume d'action de graces auec prophecie. Confitemini Domino.

Endez á Dieu louange & gloire, Car il eſt benin & clement:

Qui plus eſt, ſa bonté notoire Dure perpetuellement. Qu'Iſraël

ons ſe recorde De chanter ſolennellement, Que ſa grande miſeri-

corde Dure perpetuellement.

De la maiſon d'Aaron ancienne
Vienne tout haut preſentement
Confeſſer que la bonté ſienne
Dure perpetuellement.
Tous ceux qui du Seigneur ont
crainte,
Viennent auſſi chanter comment
La bonté piroyable & ſainte
Dure perpetuellement.
Ainſi que j'eſtois en détreſſe,
En inuoquant ſa Majeſté,
Il m'ouit, & de cette preſſe
Me mit en large á ſauueté. [dre,
Le Tout-puiſſãt qui m'ouit plain-
Ne veut toûjours tenir veut :
Que je donc que faire de craindre
Ce que l'homme faire peut?
De mon coſté il ſe retire
Tous ceux qui me ſont amis:
Mais cela que je deſire
Je verrai en mes ennemis.
Mieux vaut auoir en Dieu fiance,
Qu'en l'homme qui eſt moins que
rien :
Mieux vaut auoir en Dieu fiance,
Qu'au Prince & au Grand terrien.
Beaucoup de gẽs, c'eſt choſe ſeure,
M'aſſiegerent de tous coſtez :
Au Nom de Dieu, ce dis-je á l'heure,
Ils ſeront par moi rebutez.
Ils m'auoiẽt enclos par grand' ire,
Enclos m'auoient tous mutinez :
Au Nom de Dieu, ce vins-je á dire,
Ils ſeront par moi ruinez.
Ils m'auoient enclos cõme abeil-
les,
Et ſirent ces fols & hautains,
Au Nom du grand Dieu des mer-
veilles,
Comme feu d'eſpines eſteints.

L

dissolution, or making ourselves effeminate in disordered delights, and that it should not become the instrument of lasciviousness nor of any shamelessness.'

The Fisher copy was printed at Charenton, a suburb of Paris, and the site of one of the largest Protestant churches ever built in France.

90 Ambrosius Lobwasser (1515–1585). Psalmen Davids nach frantzösischer Meloden und Reymen Art in teutsche Reymen verständlich und deutich gebracht. The Hague, 1629.

The congregational singing of hymns, which had already become a common practice in the late medieval German church (especially before and after the sermon), was strongly reinforced by Luther's translation of the Psalms and their incorporation into public worship.[319] By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, the memorable tunes of the French Calvinist Psalter were growing in popularity, but since relations between the Lutherans and Calvinists were strained, they were resisted in much of the Germanic territory. While he was living in France, the Lutheran humanist and scholar, Ambrosius Lobwasser, became captivated by their beauty, and decided to make a metrical translation of Marot's text into German while retaining the fashionable French tunes. Shortly thereafter, cer-

Psalmen Davids.

Der I. Psalm / Davids. 1

Psalm I.

tain German rulers, particularly Christian I (1560–1591) in Saxony and Johann Sigismund (1572–1619) in Brandenburg, introduced the Calvinist Reformation into their territories, and as part of that transition caused Luther's hymnal to be replaced by Lobwasser's paraphrase.[320] Not surprisingly there was resistance among their committed Lutheran subjects, many of whom refused to sing these new settings, with some even resorting to violence in protest. Their objections were not merely stylistic. As the late sixteenth-century Lutheran theologian Polycarp Leyser (1552–1610) explained, 'when the music in the temples is changed, the teaching is changed as well; that is, when people sing in a new and foreign manner in the churches, a transformation of the doctrine generally follows.'[321] Lobwasser's translation remained popular, however, throughout parts of Saxony and Switzerland, eventually seeing forty editions printed at Hesse between 1586 and 1694, while another sixty editions were published in northern Switzerland in the seventeenth century.[322]

This manuscript copy of Lobwasser's translation was transcribed in the beautiful hand of André Wecheln (d. 1637), a German Lutheran who became the first Postmaster General of Sweden in 1632. The text was written in classic *Fraktur* script while Wecheln was residing in The Hague. The music is rendered using the lozenge-shaped notes typical of the period. Large calligraphic initials appear at beginning of the Psalms, with decorative head and tail pieces scattered throughout. Most important, however, is the text that

appears in the margins. Here Wecheln has transcribed Luther's original translation of the Psalms making this manuscript unique since there is no other copy of Lobwasser extant that includes it. The insertion may indicate a desire on Wecheln's part to demonstrate that there was actually no significant difference between Lobwasser and Luther in the first place, and certainly insufficient cause to lead to hostilities between the two largest Protestant movements on the Continent.

91 Saint John of the Cross (1542–1591). *Obras espirituales que encaminan a vna alma ala perfecta vnion con Dios.* Alcalá de Henares: By the widow of Andres Sanches Ezpeleta, 1618.

Opposition to the Protestant Reformation in Spain was enforced by the Inquisition, a royal office that ensured heterodox opinions were constantly kept in check. Apart from the *auto-da-fés* for which it gained such notoriety, the Inquisition principally achieved its goals by controlling the printing press. It can be argued, however, that the brand of mysticism born in the Iberian Peninsula in the sixteenth century was more successful in reforming the life, morals, and structure of the church than the Inquisition's more extreme measures. Such figures as Teresa of Avila, Ignatius of Loyola, and Francis Borgia (1510–1572) helped to transform the church from within, by means of their writings as well as their example, in contradistinction to the northern European Reformers who sought change by separating from Rome. John of the Cross was undoubtedly one of the greatest mystics to emerge from this movement, as well as one of the foremost poets Spain has ever produced.

Following in the footsteps of his friend and sometime mentor, Teresa of Avila, John sought to reform the Carmelite Friars to which he belonged by restoring his community to its original charism and discipline. Not surprisingly, his efforts met with resistance. Some of his brethren were suspicious of his drive for interior spiritual renewal, fearing that this could only be achieved at the expense of official liturgical worship, and hinting that it smacked of crypto-Lutheranism.[323] In December 1577 he was kidnapped and imprisoned in a Toledo convent by the Carmelite Vicar General, much to Teresa's consternation. For nine months he was held captive in an unused, windowless privy, and was flogged weekly by his fellow friars. But it was in that airless cell, from which he eventually escaped in August 1578, that he conceived much of the poetry that would inspire generations; and when he safely arrived at a neighbouring convent of sympathetic nuns, he recited his sublime verses for the very first time in their presence.[324] They remain one of the greatest triumphs of Counter-Reformation art, and speak forcefully

of a renewed religion of the heart, beautifully expressed in the fifth stanza of his *'Noche oscura'*:

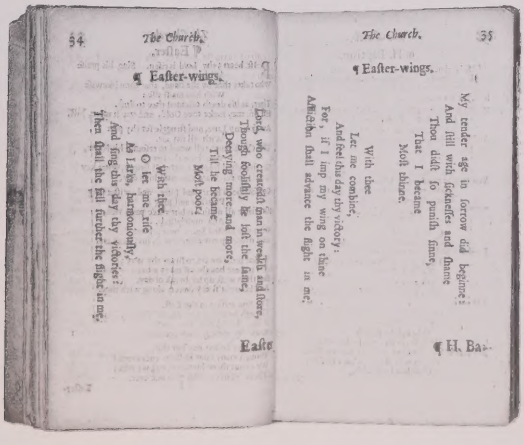
Oh noche que guiaste!	O night that was my guide!
Oh noche amable más que la alborada!	O night more loving than the rising sun!
Oh noche, que juntaste	O night, that joined
Amado con Amada	The lover to the beloved one
Amada en el Amado transformada!	Transforming the beloved one, in the lover!

John drew the inspiration for his poetry from secular romance as well as the Song of Songs in the Old Testament. This first edition includes his masterpieces *'Noche oscura del alma'* (The Dark Night of the Soul), *'Llama de amor viva'* (Living Flame of Love), and *'Subida al Monte Carmelo'* (Ascent of Mount Carmel), together with explanatory commentaries that he wrote for the nuns that he served as chaplain. It was printed by Ana de Salinas, widow of the printer Andres Sanches Ezpeleta, and includes supplementary biographical material by other members of his Carmelite order, José de Jesús Maria and Diego de Jesús. The particularly fine portrait of the saint presenting his writings to Christ was executed by the Toledo engraver, Diego Astor, who also served in the Royal Mint.

92 George Herbert (1593–1633). *The Temple: Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations.* London: Printed by R.N. for Philemon Stephens, 1660.

The sweetness and strength of George Herbert's poetry were rooted in both the tensions and literary triumphs of his era. His first days as a boarder at the Westminster School, under the tutelage of the renowned scholar and preacher Lancelot Andrewes, were overshadowed by the Gunpowder Plot of November 1605. Strained relations between King and Puritans showed no signs of easing. Yet this was also the era of Shakespeare, and as a student at Trinity College, Cambridge, where Herbert seriously began to write poetry, he must have been well aware of the ongoing process that would result in what has been described as the only work of art created by committee, the King James Version of the Bible (1611). His Welsh gift for words was such that it was unclear at times whether he was destined for the service of the state or the altar.[325] In the end, he declared his preference for the church, and became one of the greatest of Anglican luminaries - a priest, poet, and musician.

Herbert was a friend of Nicholas Ferrar (1592–1637) and his family at Little Gidding in Cambridgeshire, a community dedicated to an Anglican form of asceticism deeply steeped in the Book of Common Prayer. It was to Nicholas that Herbert entrusted this collection of his poems, telling him to publish it should he 'think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor Soul.' Otherwise (like Aquinas's instruction regarding his *Summa*) they were to be burnt. The poems consider the nature of sin, love, and faith from a perspective that both draws upon and transcends the growing Calvinist ethos of the time, and therein lies their strength: they speak to any and no specific religious experience, save that of the seeker.[326] The first edition appeared in 1633, the year of Herbert's death, and by 1709 thirteen more editions had followed. The name of the collection


54 The Church. The Church. 55

¶ Easter-wings. ¶ Easter-wings.

My tender age in sorrow did begine:
And still with sicknesses and shame
Thou didst so punish sinne,
That I became
Most thinne.

With thee
Let me combine,
And feel this day thy victory:
For, if I imp my wing on thine
Affliction shall advance the flight in me.

Lord, who createdst man in wealth and store,
Though foolishly he lost the same,
Decaying more and more,
Till he became
Most poore:

With thee
O let me rise
As larks, harmoniously,
And sing this day thy victories:
Then shall the fall further the flight in me.

Easte ¶ H. Ba-

was probably assigned by Ferrar himself in whose hand the title and supporting epigraph from Psalm 29, verse 8 – 'In his Temple doth every man speak of his honour' – was added.

Two very intriguing 'shape' or 'pattern poems' appear in *The Temple*: 'Easter Wings' and 'The Altar.' Pattern poetry consists of the arrangement of words in such a way that the typography is at least as important in conveying meaning as the words themselves. For mystical poets like Herbert the physical form of letters communicated a spiritual significance beyond the linguistic meaning assigned to them, just as the case had been for many ancient Hebrew authors. Their dramatic layout, therefore, is not merely whimsical; it forms part of the intellectual framework behind their texts.[327] Besides their mystical and theological associations, Herbert's shape poetry may also be seen as an ancestor to the concrete poetry of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The Fisher copy was previously owned by the barrister and book collector John Sparrow (1906–1992) who served as Warden of All Souls, Oxford from 1952 to 1977.

93 William Shakespeare (1564–1616) and John Fletcher (1579–1625). *The Famous History of the Life of Henry the Eight* from the Second Folio of Shakespeare. London: Thomas Cotes, 1632.

The English Reformation was barely fifty years old when Shakespeare was writing his first plays. Those dealing with the Plantagenet kings may have been set hundreds of years before, but were still reflections of the issues confronting England during the tumultuous years of the relatively short-lived but immensely influential Tudor dynasty. A certain amount of care, therefore, had to be taken in order to avoid offending the monarch who dominated the world at the beginning of Shakespeare's career, Elizabeth I. It is not surprising then that this play of 'Henry VIII, or All is true' was written some dozen years after her death.[328] It would have been too politically and religiously charged for presentation during the final years of Elizabeth's reign, and it certainly would have been unthinkable at that time to have portrayed Catherine of Aragon as sympathetically as he and Fletcher eventually did. One could not imagine Henry's first wife delivering these lines in the presence of Anne Boleyn's daughter:

> Heaven is above all yet; there sits a judge
> That no king can corrupt. (3.1.100–101)

History, however, is merely a plaything for large parts of this drama. Thomas More, for example, leads Anne Boleyn's coronation procession, which is utter nonsense. In the end, the point of the play is

effectively threefold. It asks the ancient question 'What is truth?' and what is the role of conscience? It also asks a Stuart audience whether the old King was guilty of malice, the very same charge he had levelled against so many others – Buckingham, Wolsey, More, Anne Boleyn, and Thomas Cromwell.[329] But perhaps more importantly the play concerns Protestant England's march towards glory in the person of James I, whose integrity and sense of justice stand as a foil to the way things had been done under the old King. The unfortunate history of these characters from Henry's reign stand as testimony to the honour of the new regime. The play may end with the baptism of the infant Elizabeth, but that is the key moment in which Shakespeare and Fletcher link the Stuart present with the Elizabethan past. 'Nor shall this peace sleep with her', Cranmer says to Henry after christening his heir,

> but as when
> The bird of wonder dies, the maiden phoenix,
> Her ashes new create another heir,
> As great in admiration as herself;
> So shall she leave her blessedness to one,
> When heaven shall call her from this cloud of darkness,
> Who from the sacred ashes of her honour
> Shall star-like rise, as great in fame as she was,
> And so stand fix'd: peace, plenty, love, truth, terror,
> That were the servants to this chosen infant,
> Shall then be his, and like a vine grow to him:
> Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
> His honour and the greatness of his name
> Shall be, and make new nations: he shall flourish,
> And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
> To all the plains about him: our children's children
> Shall see this, and bless heaven. (5.4.40-55)

Reference to Elizabeth as the 'maiden phoenix' came very close to the titles accorded the Virgin Mary in her litanies, and was deemed sufficiently offensive to see one of the Folger Library copies of the Second Folio censored at this point by Guillermo Sanchez of the Valladolid Inquisition.[330]

The Famous History of the Life of Henry the Eight appears for the first time in the First Folio of Shakespeare. The turn of the seventeenth century was apparently a time for dramatic reflection on the events of the English Reformation with such plays as this, *Sir Thomas More* (ca. 1593), and Samuel Rowley's *When you see me, you know me* (ca. 1605) bearing witness. Nevertheless, Shakespeare and Fletcher's audiences would have known that Cranmer's prophecies uttered here remained inconclusive, and the Reformation still very much a conflicted work in progress, as the English Civil War would shortly prove.[331]

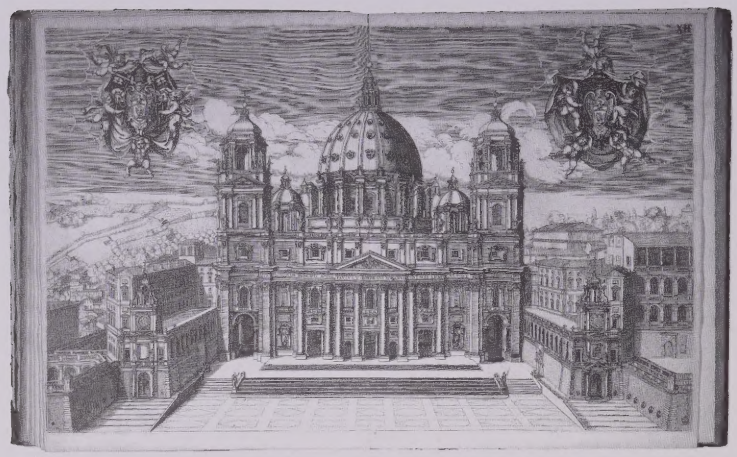
94 Sir William Dugdale (1605–1686) and Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677). *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.* London: Thomas Warren, 1658.

This beautifully illustrated book is not only a monument to the engraver's art but also to the religious significance of a church on the verge of ruin. Sir William Dugdale was an historian and antiquarian who was fascinated by the English Middle Ages. He was also an unabashed royalist and devoted son of the Church of England in a period when neither was fashionable and both could be treasonable. In 1655 he had published the first of three volumes of his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, another illustrated work depicting the rich monastic heritage of England that had been swept away more than a century before, during the Dissolution. Both of these titles were the fruit of collaboration with Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677), a Bohemian artist in the first rank of seventeenth-century etchers. Today *The History of St Paul's Cathedral* is valued for its preservation of images of a magnificent building that was destroyed by the Great

Fire that occurred eight years after it was printed. In its own day, however, it was intended as an urgent appeal against the iconoclasm of the English Civil War and the subsequent Puritan ascendancy.

In 1656 Dugdale had learned of a horde of medieval documents related to the Cathedral being stored in the basement of the home of John Reading, the Parliamentary commissioner responsible for the confiscation of Cathedral Chapter properties. Dugdale took them into his safekeeping until the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The manuscripts inspired him to begin a crusade to save St Paul's from the depredations it had been suffering for a generation and more, the result of conflicting views about the true course of the English Reformation. The Lord Mayor had actually locked the cathedral doors in 1642 and confiscated the keys. The following year, after the approval of the Solemn League and Covenant, the building was partitioned, with the eastern end of the choir walled off as a preaching space, while horses were stabled in the church's vast nave.[332]

Hollar was engaged in 1656 to prepare etchings for the book. Many, it would appear, were based on drawings previously done by William Sedgwick, who had accompanied Dugdale in 1641 and 1642 while he was recording the epitaphs and coats of arms found on the crumbling tombs. Others were copied from earlier prints of memorials destroyed during the reign of King Edward VI a century earlier. The second part of the book moves away from the sarcophagi to examine the fabric of the Cathedral itself, which, by the time Hollar drew it, was in a neglected state. He would have seen one side chapel being used by a glass blower, part of the crypt a wine merchant's cellar, bakers setting up ovens between the buttresses, and part of the south transept collapsed. The picture that Hollar presents, therefore, is idealized, with the precarious state of the building alluded to only in many of the accompanying Latin inscriptions. Beneath what is arguably one of his greatest masterpieces, the impressive tunnel perspective of the cathedral's nave, the legend in translation reads: 'Wenceslaus Hollar of Bohemia, sketcher and sometime admirer of this church, which is daily waiting to fall, has thus preserved its memory. May the Mother Church be revived and sacrilege perish so that the ship of the Church about to sink in the waves of time, may be preserved through the saving auspices of God. Let our posterity marvel, imitating the piety of their ancestors, that this ancient and stupendous basilica, now on the verge of collapse, might be anchored to eternity as a sacred monument of the Christian religion.' For his efforts at recording the terrible and ultimately doomed beauty of the place, Hollar was paid £3 for some of his engravings, but £5 for the majority.[333]



95 Giovanni Battista Costaguti (d. 1625). *Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano.* Rome: Camera Apostolica, 1684.

'In my end is my beginning' wrote T.S. Eliot in his *Four Quartets*, and such is the case with this exhibition. This last book records the magnificent architecture of St Peter's Basilica in Rome, the church whose initial construction was financed, at least in part, through the sale of indulgences, one practice among many that had outraged Luther, leading to the publication of his Ninety-Five Theses on 31 October 1517. While Florence had been the epicentre of the Renaissance, and Bologna the birthplace of the Baroque, with the erection of St Peter's Basilica, Rome became beating heart of the new Baroque movement.[334] By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the old Constantinian basilica which had stood for a thousand years was in a serious state of disrepair. Rebuilding the old church had first been suggested in the fifteenth century, but in the end it was Pope Julius II (1443–1513) who decided to destroy the old building and construct a new church that would stand as a more fitting symbol of papal authority. For over 120 years, a series architects and builders, following the designs of Bramante, Michelangelo, Maderno, and Bernini, presided over the construction of the most imposing church the world had known to that date. Eschewing the medieval style, the new building reflected the classical ideals embraced by the Humanists, returning to the clean lines of Ancient Greece and Rome.

Giovanni Battista Costaguti was papal *major domo* under Pope Paul V (1552–1621) and as such it may be assumed that his book reflects contemporary papal opinion on the building project. He compiled it specifically to record the difficulties faced by Carlo

Maderno (1556–1629) while constructing the great portico of the Basilica, with particular reference to the depths of the foundations necessary to support its great weight. The engraver of the prints was Martino Ferrabosco (d. 1623), an accomplished architect and stuccoist in his own right, who worked on a variety of papal projects in Rome from 1613 until his death, including the clock tower that stands at the entrance to the Vatican palace. The engravings herein record, not only the appearance of St Peter's as it could be seen in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, but also Ferrabosco's suggestions for what the building could become. Plate XII, for example, is an artist's rendering of his ideas for the completion of the façade, piazza, and towers of St Peter's. The extraordinary accuracy of his plates is such that they are still regularly consulted by those interested in understanding the complexities of the incredible structure.[335] The title page to this volume says that it was first published in Rome in 1620. This would seem unlikely, however, since a note in the Vatican Library says that the book was left unfinished by Ferrabosco, and finally published in 1684 at the expense of Costaguti's nephew and namesake, Giovanni Battista, Cardinal Costaguti (1636–1704).[336]

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